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ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΥ ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΕΜΕΟΝΙΚΑΙΣ.

THE NEMEAN ODES

OF

PINDAR



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THE NEMEAN ODES

OF

PINDAR

EDITED, WITH

INTRODUCTIONS AND COMMENTARY.

BY

J. B. BURY, M.A.,

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

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PREFACE.

OF all the great Greek poets Pindar has received least attention from English scholars. The only complete commentary that has appeared since Donaldson's is that of Dr Fennell. The Nemean and Isthmian Odes came off even less well than the Olympian and Pythian, which were separately edited by Cookesley and in America by Mr Gildersleeve (whose work however was published in England). When we compare this list with the number of editions of Homer and the Greek dramatists which appear from year to year, it may seem needless to apologise for a new commentary on the works of Pindar; and certainly an editor of the Nemean Odes may feel secure against the charge of *crambe repetita*.

The methods of interpretation and the plan of exposition adopted in the present volume are in many respects new; otherwise indeed this edition, after Dr Fennell's sound work, which so opportunely supplied a want, would have no reason for existing. The reader will find in the general *Introduction* a statement of my principles of interpretation, and he will see how much I owe to a new idea put forward by F. Mezger in *Pindars Siegeslieder*, 1880. To the other well-known German scholars who have edited or dealt with Pindar (Boeckh, Dissen, Mommsen, Bergk, &c.) I gratefully acknowledge my obligations, and their names will be found in every page of my commentary. Rumpel's *Lexicon Pindaricum* and E. Abel's edition of the *Scholia vetera* on the Nemean and Isthmian Odes have been specially useful. Dr Fennell's *Nemean and Isthmian Odes* has been always by me.

In the revision of the proof-sheets I have received most

valuable help from my friend Mr R. Y. Tyrrell, to whom I would here express my best thanks. Some of his suggestions are specially mentioned in the notes.

I have also to acknowledge the kindness of Dr J. P. Postgate in offering to place at my disposal his manuscript notes on the Nemean Odes. Unfortunately I was unable to take full advantage of his offer, as the greater part of my Commentary was already finally printed; but I have mentioned a few of his suggestions in a list of *Addenda*, to which I would invite attention. (See too *Appendix A*, note 10.)

In regard to Pindaric metres, I have adopted with hesitation the conclusions of M. Schmidt. As I have not made a thorough study of Greek metric, I do not feel competent to pronounce on a subject which demands the concentrated powers of specialists.

As six of the hymns included in this volume celebrate Aeginetans, I should like to have added an essay on the contemporary history of Aegina, but the introductory matter touching the art of Pindar claimed so much room that such an addition would have made the book too big. If however I realise my hope of editing the Isthmian Odes, there will be an opportunity of dealing with Aegina then. The two hymns to Chromius likewise suggest a section on a greater island than Aegina; but that will be more in place when we reach the presence of the Syracusan 'Basileus' himself. And besides when I come to the Olympian and Pythian Odes, if I should ever get so far, we shall have the advantage of new light on the island of the Sikels and Pindar's Sikeliot friends from the first instalment of the expected work of Mr Freeman.

The Appendix on the *Origin of the Great Games*, in which I have had some useful help from Mr Mahaffy, propounds a new view as to the establishment of the Olympian games. I have stated there as strongly as possible the case which I plead, but of course I am fully conscious that it is only guesswork.

ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

P. 1, footnote 1. After the words '*Journal of Hellenic Studies*' read 'vol. ii.' for 'vol. i.'

P. 2, footnote (continued from page 1), for 'as Aetna was founded in 475' read 'as Aetna was founded in 476 B.C.', and in next line for '472 B.C.' read '473 B.C.'

P. 20, add to note on l. 46 :

Dr Postgate, however, quotes Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 894, τοῦ ξυνεύδοντος χρόνου 'the time that shared my sleep' as an instance of time being said to do what takes place during its lapse.

P. 44, 13th line from foot,

for ~~~~ (17),
read ≈~~~~ (17).

P. 49, add to note on l. 22 :

The difficult expression ἥρως θεός has never been satisfactorily explained. Dr Postgate conjectures ἥρῃ θεός, and this certainly deserves consideration.

P. 50, to note on l. 24 add a reference (pointed out to me by Dr Postgate) to Plato, *Critias*, p. 108.

P. 53, l. 41 of text, for ἀτρεκέϊ read ἀτρεκεῖ.

P. 59, to note on l. 72 add the following words: τρίτον is the reading of the MSS. of Triclinius. BB have τρίτατος and the other ancient MSS. τρίτατον, contrary to the metre.

P. 61, in note on l. 80 after the words 'associated with the city of Agrigentum' add:

The scholiast says that Pindar is alluding to Bacchylides.

P. 89, in note on l. 2, for χαλκὸν...ὄντε...ἐνίκασαν read χαλκὸν...ὄντε...νικάσαι.

P. 91, add to note on l. 20 :

Dr Postgate compares *Oed. Tyr.* 1301 τίς ὁ πηδῆσας μέλζονα δαίμων τῶν μακίστων; and suggests that we may infer from this that a maximum and a minimum leap were marked.

P. 92, add to note on l. 26 :

Dr Postgate believes that πεδᾶσαι here means *to kill*, comparing φόνειν τοι θάνατον IV. 59 and *Thren. fr.* 6, πέφνε δὲ τρεῖς καὶ δέκ' ἄνδρας, τετράτῳ δ' αὐτὸς πεδᾶθη.

P. 109, in note on l. 38 after the words 'the significance of γέφυρ' ἀκάμαντος has been explained in the *Introduction*', add :

I feel doubts however whether Dr Fennell and Mr Paley are right in taking ἀκάμαντος as a collateral form of ἀκάμας. Dr Fennell translates 'the impregnable causeway through the sea', and Paley 'the hard rocky causeway'. But I can find no analogy for a nom. sing. ἀκάμαντος (which would imply a *καμαίνω), and, though I am sorry to abandon the conception of the *indefatigable bridge* (see p. 100), I must admit that it is safer to follow Boeckh in taking ἀκάμαντος with πόντου (*maris indefessi*).

P. 130, add as a note on l. 14 :

For ἐνὶ σὺν τρόπῳ, 'in one way only', Dr Postgate compares the use of *cum* in Latin, as *e.g.* in Lucretius v. 364 *solido cum corpore mundi naturast*.

P. 133, to note on l. 30 add :

Dr Postgate however thinks the meaning is 'Death comes unexpected even on the best prepared' and compares Horace, *C.* II. 13, 13. It cannot be denied that this explanation suits the position of καί better than that which I have adopted.

P. 135, in note on l. 48, add after the word γάστρις :

Compare also κακῶν ῥεκτῆρα καὶ ὕβριν ἀνέρα, Hesiod, "E. καὶ 'H. 191 (a reference for which I am indebted to Dr Postgate).

P. 144, after the words (*crying for nothing*) in l. 19 of note on l. 102 add :

Dr Postgate, who takes the same view of the construction as Dr Fennell, would illustrate μαψυλάκας ('vainly babbling', practically = 'vainly babbled') by ψεύσαν λόγον in *Nem.* v. 29.

P. 152, add as a note on κείνου γέ l. 10 :

Dr Postgate has pointed out to me that the force of γέ may be brought out by rendering 'a prince like him' (cf. VII. 75).

P. 158, add to note on l. 51 :

For the repetition of the article (τάν) although the strife of Adrastus and the strife of the Cadmeans were one and the same, Dr Postgate well compares the repetition of *inter* in Horace, *Ep.* I. 2, 11 *Nestor componere lites inter Peliden festinat et inter Atriden*, the effect here being to bring out the fact that Adrastus and the Thebans were on different sides.

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INTRODUCTION.

1. *The Interpretation of Pindar.*

THOSE who desire to study the Greek mind as revealed in literary art will probably find that there are more secrets to be learned in Pindar than in any other writer. For of all Greek poets he is the most Greek; or, rather, in his poems those distinctive qualities of the Greek temper which are alien to modern sentiments and ideas are more clearly reflected than for instance in the tragedians. The Greek tragedies deal with forms of human emotion which are universal; as we read them, the stress of common humanity tends to eliminate the differences between the modern and the ancient spirit; and hence we even find it difficult to avoid the importation of modern emotions into our reading of Sophocles and Euripides. Whereas there is no temptation to falsify Pindar in this way, or, as we might say, to modernise him. He is the poet of 'the delightful things in Hellas', τὰ τερπνὰ ἐν Ἑλλάδι, and his works reflect the authentic quality of the Hellenic spirit. This is the secret of his charm, and to this, too, is due the fact that he is less generally read than other Greek poets. For the complicated structure of his Odes,—demanding from the reader a close searching attention, to apprehend the unity of the whole and grasp the punctual meaning of every part,—cannot be regarded as a completely independent cause of unpopularity; inasmuch as this elaborate art is likewise a revelation of the Hellenic spirit, here carrying the desire of artistic perfection to the extreme limit of achievement.

For recognising that with nature their power was small, the Greeks determined that over art at least their control should be complete, and they left little to chance. The saying of the poet Agathon that art and chance loved each other,

τέχνη τύχην ἔστερξε καὶ τύχη τέχνην,

had certainly no application to the work of Pindar. He elaborated his poems to such a point that every phrase was calculated, and no word was admitted which did not 'tell' in the total effect. In one place indeed he speaks as if he wandered from matter to matter at random 'like a bee' (ὥτε μέλισσα¹) flitting from flower to flower; but that is only a graceful reserve or εἰρωνεία—an expression of the artistic hiding of art. Nor is the contrast between genius and the mere knowledge of rules (φνὴ and τέχνη), on which he often dwells, in any sense inconsistent with the self-consciousness of his own art. His idea of φνὴ was not of some blindly acting force, moving outside rules, successful by sheer strength; nor did he condemn in τέχνη an excessive care for order or diction. By τέχνη, rather, he meant the mere mechanical, slavish application of formulae, where the divine gift of insight is absent; by φνὴ, the power which can wield art more artfully and effectually than ever, because it works freely. His hymns wonderfully unite an appearance of the absence of restraint with the most scrupulous precision of language. The poetry seems to flow with the impulse of a torrent or some free natural force, unable to confine itself; and yet when we look more closely we find that every sentence is measured, every word weighed, every metaphor charged with subtle meanings that play beneath the surface. To be fettered and yet free is the ideal of art, or, in Pindaric phrase, the 'aim of the Muses' (Μοισᾶν σκοπός); and perhaps no literary artist has ever realised that ideal as perfectly as the poet of Thebes.

For appreciating Pindar a susceptibility to the effects of words is eminently necessary; for each of his is, as it were, a gem with a virtue of its own, which the poet had fully appreciated before he set it in its place. To show what in editorial waywardness may result from a lack of this susceptibility, I may choose (one of many instances) the last measure of the Sixth Olympian Ode. This poem written in honour of Agesias of Syracuse, closes with an invocation of Poseidon, who is besought thus:

ἐμῶν δ' ὕμνων ἄεξ' εὐτερπὲς ἄνθος,

Cause the delectable flower of my hymns to grow. As the chief feature of the Ode is the story of Iamus, laid after birth in a bed of pansies (ἰά) and thence deriving his name, the last word ἄνθος is calculated to suggest the aesthetic virtue of the whole hymn, reminding us, even at the end, of that flowery 'woodborn wonder', to which the victor Agesias is compared. And ἄεξεω is the appropriate verb for a flower.

¹ *Pyth.* x. 54.

Poseidon is implored to tend the growth of Agesias even as he had watched over Iamus. Yet Bergk is led by the indications of some MSS. to adopt in his text

ἐμῶν ὕμνων δὲ δέξ' εὐτερπὲς ἄνθος¹.

We shall meet many instances of this kind in the Nemean Odes. But what one may lose through mere inattentiveness of the ear to words and their intentions, most readers have perhaps at some time or other experienced in the case of really careful poetry written in their own language. In this stanza for example of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*—

And up thy vault with roaring sound
Climb thy thick noon, disastrous day;
Touch thy dull goal of joyless gray,
And hide thy shame beneath the ground,

—the felicity of the word *disastrous* in the context might easily pass unnoticed.

And words have the habit of investing themselves, through associations, with a certain atmosphere, sometimes palpable, sometimes very subtle,—these associations being often the secret of the whole aesthetic effect, and withal of so volatile a nature as to elude inquiry. In the poetry of an ancient, in the poetry even of a foreign language, much is missed by the impossibility of feeling instinctively such associations; but in some words at least, used by Pindar, we may detect special significances. *φέγγος*, for example, seems to have been charged with a mystic import, designating most probably, in the mysteries, a divine Light; it was an *ἄβροτον ἔπος*, a 'mystic word'². And thus Pindar's phrase of the Graces, *καθαρὸν φέγγος Χαρίτων*, will suggest (as *φάος* could not) a wonderful light,—as it were, 'the light of ineffable faces'. But the delicate potencies in words tend to vanish, when you try to define them, for in definition there is mostly a certain violence or rudeness. Of modern poets Rossetti was a master in handling the subtle suggestiveness of words. In one of his sonnets in the *House of Life*, for instance, these lines close the octave :

Such fire as Love's soul-winnowing hands distil
Even from his inmost ark of light and dew.

To this curiously happy effect it is clear that the choice of the word *ark* and its accompaniment by 'light and dew' most largely contribute; and yet if we let the mind force into full consciousness the associations

¹ Another objection to this reading is that in an Olympian Ode Poseidon could not be the receiver of the poet's offering.

² See below, note on *Nem.* IX. 42 (p. 180).

which have determined the virtue of that word, the happy effect is spoiled by an emerging incongruity. For when you pass into imaginative literature, no coquettes are so capricious as words, so easily spoiled in more than one sense, their humours requiring the patient study of a lover.

Nor is the mere sound of a word insignificant. In poetry of all ages effects frequently depend on similar sounds which represent quite different meanings, as in Pindar's ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλικες ἄλλοι, in Homer's ὠδίνων ὀδύνῃσι, ἀθύρματα θυμῷ, or in Rossetti's

By what spell they are sped.

This is carried further, the poet, as it were, drawing attention to it, when Viola says in *Twelfth Night*

And what should I do in Illyria?
My brother he is in Elysium.

The effect of these lines depends on the assonance of the names. Now to the Greeks similarity in sound meant far more than to modern ears, for they (except a few rationalists) regarded language as a divine invention and of this view it was a corollary that behind a likeness in sound lay some hidden likeness in fact. And this theory, in combination with a belief in omens, suggested especially significances in proper names; ὄνομα ὄρνις, a name is a bird. References to such significances, common to all Greek poets, are a notable feature in Pindar, occurring in almost every hymn¹. And this was recognised by Greek critics. In a note which probably comes from Didymus we read the words: εἶωθε δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος ταῖς ὀμωνυμίαις ἐπαναπαύεσθαι ἔθει ιδίῳ (Schol. on *Λῆμ.* II. 11). There is a good example in the Second Pythian Ode. Rhadamanthys is there introduced for the sake of his name, interpreted as 'easily learning', and contrasted with the ape who also 'learns in a way':—

μαθὼν καλὸς τοι πίθων, παρὰ παισὶν αἰεὶ
καλός· ὁ δὲ Ῥαδάμανθυσ εὖ πέπραγεν, ὅτι φρενῶν
ἔλαχε καρπὸν ἀμώμητον.

Unless we recognise this intention, we shall have to think that Pindar, introducing Rhadamanthys without a motive, had forgotten his cunning.

It is obvious that in many cases, where it would have been improper to mention names, unmistakable allusions could easily be made by

¹ Instances will be found in most of the Odes in this volume. It is needless to cite here the familiar instances of paronomasia from Homer, Aeschylus &c. The derivations of *Iamus* and *Aias* in Pindar are well known.

various kinds of 'paronomasia'. Latin poets, as everyone knows, used to introduce real personages under fictitious designations, metrically equivalent to the original names. Pindar combined this device with etymological allusion. In the Seventh Nemean Ode the strange coinage *μαψυλάκας* can, in my opinion, have been invented for no other purpose than to designate Pindar's younger rival Bacchylides. *μαψυλάκας* is metrically equivalent to *Βακχυλίδης* and has the same number of letters ($\psi = \pi\sigma$). And no enemy of Bacchylides who wished to refine on the significance of his name, could have more cunningly combined a plausible derivation and an invidious suggestion. Connecting the first syllable *βακχ-* with the evil influence of wine on 'rhyme and reason', he parodies it by *μάψ* 'wildly, rhymelessly'; and he sees in the second part of the name a relation of the words which mean 'bark' (*ἑλάω*, etc.)¹. Philologists, much nearer to our own day than Pindar, would not have hesitated at such an etymology.

There is in the Eighth Pythian, if my view of the passage is right, an interesting instance of an etymological allusion.

That Ode, written in honour of an Aeginetan, soon after the conquest of Aegina by Athens (B.C. 457), though containing no direct reference to the Athenians, dwells on the uncertainty of prosperity: in a short time, we read, 'men's pleasance waxeth; but in the same wise too it falleth to the ground'. There is a clear prophecy of a reversal of fortune for the Aeginetans at the expense of the Athenians. Some words however contain a more pointed allusion. The victor who had won his laurel wreath in wrestling had thrown four competitors; and of these defeated men it is said that they did not return home to be welcomed by the smiles of their mothers,—

*κατὰ λαύρας χορῶν ἀπάοροι
πτώσسونτι συμφορᾷ δεδαγμένοι,*

'they cower, aloof from dances, in lanes'. The expression is strange: but it wins significance if we suppose that one at least of the wrestlers was an Athenian and that *λαύρας* alludes to the silver mines of Laurium—*Λαυρίοι* being really a diminutive of *λαίρα*. The suggestion, then, covertly expressed, is this: an Aeginetan has vanquished an Athenian in wrestling; well, let the Athenian skulk in those mines, the source of the strength of his countrymen. The commercial Aeginetans must certainly have been jealous of the riches which their neighbours

¹ If Pindar had been defending his etymology he might have supported the connexion of *-υλίδης* with *-υλάκας* by the

connexion, suggested in the *Odyssey*, between *Σκύλλα* and *σκύλαξ*.

dragged out of the earth at Laurium; but this jealousy was still more bitter, if, as has been plausibly suggested¹, Laurium originally belonged to Aegina herself and was wrested from her by Athens, 'the fountain of silver' being really the fountain of discord between the two cities throughout the early part of the 5th century.

We should not expect to find one so punctual as Pindar in the use of words errant in the matter of metaphors. For in this as in other respects Greek literature was marked by temperance; in Greek writers there is not that oriental exuberance of metaphorical language, which, at first attractive through its very strangeness to the western mind, soon offends the dry understanding. This shyness in regard to metaphor produced the habit of qualification; as when a chorus of maidens, in the *Iphigenia among the Tauri*, comparing themselves collectively to a bird, add ἄπτερος, 'a bird—but wingless'. The oestrus which drove Io is called by Aeschylus ἄρδις ἄπυρος, 'a goad—but unforged'; Orestes and Pylades in the *Orestes* are 'Bacchants—but wandless' ἄθυρσοι; discord in the same play, is 'fire, but not of Hephaestus'. In Pindar we shall find that his metaphors, when they do not arise naturally out of the metaphorical usage of a word in common speech, are due to some motive which renders them appropriate. In the expression

κλυταῖσι δαιδαλωσέμεν ὕμνων πτυχαῖς

the comparison of strains of music to the folds of a dress enveloping the object arises smoothly out of a metaphor latent in the verb δαιδαλοῦν. The remarkable image of a hymn as

Λυδίαν μίτραν καναχαδὰ πεποικιλμέναν

has its justification in the use of the μίτρα to bind together the leaves of the victor's crown, and καναχαδὰ is the qualification of the image; 'a headband—but of sounds'. This temperance in direct metaphorical language is combined with a sharp sensibility to the metaphors latent in words, leading to a choice of harmonious phrases. Thus σὲν θεῶ φύτευθεῖς ὄλβος (in the Eighth Nemean) followed by Κεῖραν ἔβρισε πλούτῳ suggests a tree weighed down by its fruit, but does not force the image on the vision. In another passage (*Nemean* II. 7) εὐθρομορός, implying the image of a wind, seems at first sight to stand alone. But

¹ By Mr Mahaffy (*Rambles and Studies in Greece*, p. 163). This hypothesis explains (1) the power of Aegina, (2) the existence of an Aeginetan metric system,

(3) the allusion in the *Persae* of Aeschylus, which indicates that the mines had only recently come into prominence at Athens.

looking closer, we discover that the substantive which it qualifies, αἰών, is really conceived as a breeze, for Pindar associated it with ἄημι.

And thus, though Pindar has won a repute of audacity for bold and mixed metaphors, we shall find on examination that his language is always scrupulously weighed, and charged with intention, his metaphors, as all else, bearing a definite relation to the whole effect. He does not mix images incongruously, though sometimes they follow in rapid succession; but he is rather inclined to push a single metaphor further than may be superficially obvious. The famous instance of mixed images in the Sixth Olympian Ode is clearly due to an error in the text. The lines are these:

κείνος, ὃ παῖ Σωστράτον,
σὺν βαρυγδούπῳ πατρὶ κραίνει σέθεν εὐτυχίαν.
δόξαν ἔχω τιν' ἐπὶ γλώσσα ἀκόνας λιγυρᾶς,
ἃ μ' ἐθέλοντα προσέλκει καλλιρόοισι πνοαῖς,
μᾶτερ ἐμὰ Στυμφαλὶς εὐανθὴς Μετώπα.

The idea of a whetstone on the tongue, to sharpen it, interposed between the god of the sea and the waters of Metopa, with which the phrase καλλιρόοισι πνοαῖς is accordant, is merely grotesque, and has absolutely no motive. Even in a modern writer, as eccentric as Browning, it would seem unusually harsh; for Pindar, I believe, it would have been impossible. A little consideration will show what word originally held the place usurped by ἀκόνας. From ἔχω ἐπὶ γλώσσα it is evident that the writer had in his mind the proverbial βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ signifying 'silence'; and as his meaning clearly is 'I cannot be silent touching Metopa', we must infer that for the ox of muteness he substituted a singing creature, a bird. And to be really suitable to the context, to harmonize with the presence of the sea and the rivers, the voice of a seabird was required. *'On my tongue I have (not an ox but) a certain fancy of a vocal seabird, which draweth me on full twilling with a fair stream of breathed sounds.'* And this, I believe, was what Pindar wrote:

δόξαν ἔχω τιν' ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ ἰκύνος λιγυρᾶς¹.

The seabird that he chose was a kingfisher. And the idea is more than a mere metaphor; for the seabird, as it were, flies seaward and draws the minstrel after it to the 'deep thundering' ocean from the waters of

¹ ΛΚΥΟΝΟΣ was read ακυονος or ακονος, and 'corrected' to ἀκόνας. For the occurrence of such *prodelision* (as I prefer to consider it) in Pindar, cf. *Pyth.* iv.

70 τίς γὰρ ἀρχὰ ἰκδέξατο ναυτίλλας; (as Bergk rightly reads, only he spells ἀρχη ἰκδέξατο), and 250 ὦ ῥκεσίλα; *Ol.* XIII. 99 δὴ ἰμφοτέρωθεν.

Metopa and the Stymphalian lake, in Arcadia,—thus symbolizing the passage from Stymphalus to Syracuse, from home to home (οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε). Nor is the imagery mixed; for not the bird, but the imagination thereof, is said to be ἐπὶ γλώσσα¹.

¹ This metaphor has been defended by two eminent scholars. Professor Jebb, in his admirable study on Pindar (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. III., p. 171), writes thus: ‘The thought which inspires a strain is compared to the whetstone which sharpens the knife,—and here, again, note the mixture of metaphors: [Greek quoted]: “I have a thought upon my lips that lends keen motive to my song; it woos my willing soul with the spirit of fair-flowing strains”...With regard to this metaphor, as to many others in Greek lyrics which are apt to strike us as harsh or even grotesque, there is a general principle which ought, I think, to be clearly perceived. Most Indo-European nouns expressed some one obvious and characteristic quality of the object which they denoted: e.g. *ναῦς* is “the swimmer”, *δρῦς* the thing which is cleft, &c. Similarly *ἀκόννη* is the *sharpener*, *κρατήρ* is the *mixer* &c. A Greek who called a thought an *ἀκόννη* was thus using a less startling image than we should use in calling it a *whetstone*; to call the teacher of a chorus a *κρατήρ* was not the same thing as it would be for us to call him a *boval*. And such phrases are less audacious in proportion as they are old, *i.e.* near to the time when the language was still freshly conscious of the primary sense in such words as *ἀκόννη*’.

I find it difficult to elicit Professor Jebb’s ingenious translation ‘a thought upon my lips that lends keen motive to my song’ from *δόξαν τιν’ ἀκόννας λεγυράς*. His rendering would rather demand *δόξαν τιν’, ἀκόνναν λεγυράν*. And his defence of the metaphors applies with greater force to *κρατήρ* than to *ἀκόννη*, inasmuch as the Greeks had the verb *κεράννυμι* to remind them of the original meaning of

κρατήρ, whereas they had no word (like Latin *acuere*) to associate with *ἀκόννη* except *ἀκονάω* itself. Such words as *ἀκή*, *ἀκωκή*, *ἄκων*, *ἀκίς* would, alone, hardly suggest the idea of sharpening, and, with all deference to Professor Jebb’s opinion, I doubt very much whether in Pindar’s day or many generations before Pindar the Greek language ‘was still freshly conscious of the primary sense’ in *ἀκόννη*. *κρατήρ*, I submit, is on a different footing.

Mr Tyrrell (*Classical Review*, May 1888, p. 139) has defended the suspected phrase on different grounds. ‘On the one hand it is wellnigh impossible to set bounds to the “soaring craft” as Pindar called it. What may not a great poet say at that golden moment

“When a great thought strikes along
the brain

And flushes all the cheek”?

Yet on the other, it must be owned that confusion of metaphor has its limits, and is sometimes quite intolerable. Our feeling about the expression seems to depend upon our feeling about the poet’s mind at the moment when he clothed his thought in words. The expression is majestic only if we feel that the poet was in a “fine frenzy”. In this connexion he refers to Pindar’s

‘Methinks a whetstone shrilleth on
my lips,

It draws me on full fain

On current of sweet airs’.

But there must, I think, be certain objective limits to legitimate mingling of metaphor, apart from the subjective state of the poet. Take the familiar instance from *Hamlet*, quoted by Mr Tyrrell in this connexion,—

Or to take arms against a sea of
troubles.

When this formidable example of metaphorical aberration is removed, those who read Pindar attentively will, I think, acknowledge that tenacity of one image is more characteristic of his poetry than a blending of several.

But though he does not confuse metaphors, he sometimes uses what we may call *double metaphors*, by playing on two meanings of a word. There is a remarkable example of this in *Isthmian* VI. 18;

ἀμνάμονες δὲ βροτοί
ὅ τι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον
κλυταῖς ἐπέων ῥοαῖς ἐξίκεται ζυγόν.

The meaning of these lines turns on the double sense of ἄωτος (1) *gloss*, or *perfection*, (2) *breeze* or *breath* (ἄημι, ἀωτέω), for which I must refer to note on *Nem.* II. 9 and *Appendix A*, note 3. Thus there are two distinct metaphors, (1) from driving in a car (ζυγόν) to a height (ἄκρον): *men remember not whatsoever reaches not the crowning height of Art, drawn in a rushing car of verses*; (2) from a ship wafted by a breeze: *whatever exploit, ungirded by sounding streams of poetry, fails to win a favouring wind of Wisdom, passeth out of men's minds*. The language is chosen with the greatest skill, almost every word suggesting a second meaning. ζυγόν, properly belonging to the first metaphor, is not inappropriate in the second, for ζεύγνυμι was a technical word for undergirding a ship. ἐξίκεται may suggest ἔκμενος οὖρος, while ἄωτον

Here the metaphor 'sea of troubles' is natural and familiar; 'to take arms against' or fight against troubles is also a familiar image: and therefore the connexion of the two metaphorical phrases does not strike us as incongruous. But if both metaphors had been unusual, the incongruity would be unjustifiable. This applies to the passage in the *Antigone* where, according to the generally accepted correction of the reading of the MSS., κόνις (with other things) is said to mow down a light which had been set above a plant. Here the incongruity of the unfamiliar metaphors is aggravated by the fact that the thing (ρίζα) which seems to offer itself to the scythe of the Erinyes is not mown, while the thing which could not possibly be mown suffers that operation. A slight change restores

the passage and gives its proper object to ἀμά. The same reasoning applies to the passage under consideration. Four incongruous pictures rise before us; γλῶσσα, ἀκόνα, ἔλκειν, καλλιρόοι πνοαί. The γλῶσσα is not a natural resting-place for the whetter; an ἀκόνα cannot be said to 'draw on'; and with καλλιρόοι πνοαί it certainly is not accordant. And the strangeness of the image makes these discords jar. My reading, while it involves but a very slight change, harmonises the words into one striking idea.

I should add that the comparison of a trainer to a Naxian whetstone, that sharpens athletes, in *Isthm.* V. 72 (an image thoroughly in place there) cannot be fairly adduced to support ἀκόνας in *Olympian* VI.

ἄκρον of a prosperous breeze is justified by the Homeric adjective ἄκρ-ᾤής.

The idea of building up the Ode of Victory on a myth, worked out so as to contain an application usually to the victor himself, sometimes to his country, was adopted by Pindar¹. Direct praises, blended with ethical commonplaces, must, when continued through a whole composition, become monotonous and fulsome², a poet's genius notwithstanding. But the myth gave a sphere both for the higher work of the imagination and for craft in elaborating a parallel or an allegory; while the apparent passing away from the subject of the victor, for a while, was a relief from the necessity of reiterating a sort of Διὸς Κόρυθος. This new method of Pindar was thus a happy discovery, and we may regard it as the chief secret of his poetical charm: for certainly the interest of each poem turns mainly on the myth and its relation to the rest.

And here too lies the chief difficulty. Only recently a clue has been found by a German scholar, whose discovery certainly marks a new period in the study of Pindar. Just ten years ago F. Mezger published his *Pindars Siegeslieder*, in which he pointed out that it was a practice of the poet to repeat some particular word *in the same verse and foot* of different strophes or epodes, and that he indicated thereby some connexion in thought between two separated parts of the Ode. Thus Pindar has himself supplied us with indications for following the ways of his thought; he has 'set words'³ for us like sign-posts. And he hinted too that his songs require a key, when he called Aeneas—the bearer of the Sixth Olympian Ode to Agesias, and charged with its interpretation—a *scytale* of the Muses (ἡῦκόμων σκευτάλα Μοισᾶν)⁴.

I need not illustrate the principle of Mezger here, for each of the Odes in this volume is an example, as is shown in the special *Introductions*. But I must observe that Mezger has not carried his own principle far enough; and this has precluded him in many cases from grasping the full meaning of a poem. For Pindar does not confine his 'responsions' to verses metrically corresponding—and Mezger has to some extent recognized this—but indicates the train of his thoughts by

¹ He tells us this himself in the Fourth Nemean (*q.v.*), as Mezger has shown. The idea he is said to have derived from the instruction of Corinna.

² Cp. also E. Lübbert, *Pindar's Leben und Dichtung*, p. 8: 'Ein ausführliches directes Lob des Siegers würde nach hellenischen Begriffen eine Herausfor-

derung an die Nemesis gewesen sein'.

³ ἐπέων θέσει, *Olymp.* III. 8. Mezger has closely connected this discovery with Westphal's untenable theory of the structure of the Pindaric Ode; but the connexion is not essential.

⁴ I (not Mezger) am responsible for this interpretation.

verbal echoes anywhere, independently of the metre. These echoes become formal and emphatic 'responsons', where in conformity with Mezger's rule the metre is confederate; but when the metre does not assist, they are not less important guides for us in detecting the parallel ranges and answering groups constructed by this wonderful art. The last words of the Sixth Olympian Ode, already quoted, furnish an instance in point. Poseidon is invoked for Agesias:

δέσποτα ποντόμεδον, εὐθὺν δὲ πλόον καμάτων
ἐκτός ἐόντα δίδοι, χρυσαλακάτοιο πόσις
Ἀμφιτρίτας, ἐμῶν δ' ὕμνων ἄεξ' εὐτερπὲς ἄνθος.

In the myth which occupies the centre of the hymn, Poseidon had been invoked by Iamus, who is the mythical counterpart of the victor Agesias; and this is recalled by the ringing of 'gold' and an echo of 'delight'. For the appeal of Iamus to Poseidon was introduced by the words

τερπνᾶς δ' ἐπεὶ χρυσοστεφαίνοιο λάβεν
καρπὸν Ἥβας.

And, further, there is another cross-echo, here punctually answering; for εὐτερπὲς ἄνθος, at the end of the fifth epode, recalls εὐανθὲς Μετώπα, the last words of the fourth epode.

And sometimes the echo is combined with a play on words. In the First Isthmian Ode, for instance, we read of the 'omen of Asopodorus'

γαρύσομαι—ἀγακλέα τὰν Ἀσωποδώρου πατρὸς αἶσαν (l. 34),

and we wonder what it may be. Reading further we learn of the things which this Asopodorus (the father of the victor) had suffered; how he had been banished from Thebes and afterwards restored; and then the third strophe ends thus:

ὁ πονήσας δὲ νόῳ καὶ προμάθειαν φέρει.

When we reach the end of the fourth antistrophos, our ears are struck by a reverberation, which clears up our difficulty:

ἦ μὰν πολλάκι καὶ τὸ σεσωπαμένον εὐθυμίαν μείζω φέρει (l. 63).

The repetition of φέρει here at the end of the same verse, takes us back to the man of 'forethought'; and then we apprehend that τὸ σεσωπαμένον explains the omen of Ἀ-σωπό-δωρος—the guerdon of silence.

The objections, which will doubtless be made to the principles on which my interpretation of Pindar is based, I can well imagine. It will be said that my view imputes to the poet an artificiality which is unworthy of a great genius and inconsistent with true poetical inspira-

tion. If it be replied that no *a priori* considerations can alter a simple fact, the objectors will say that the echoes and 'responsions' are undesigned coincidences, discerned only by the vain fancy of an over subtle commentator. This second argument is the only one with which I am necessarily concerned. If it can be shown that the echoes are not the creatures of a modern fancy, seeing in Pindar more than he ever dreamed of, then we must simply accept the fact and harmonize it with our aesthetic theories as we may see fit.

There are two considerations which, in my judgment, peremptorily exclude the supposition that the echoes and responsions, pointed out in this volume, were merely accidental. (1) If only one hymn of Pindar were extant, it might be maintained that echoes of language, noticed by an editor, were a freak of chance and formed no part of the poet's design. But seeing that forty-five (or at least forty-three) poems of Pindar¹ have been preserved, and that in every one of these there are distinct responsions and echoes in which a direct bearing on the connexion of thought may be perceived (more or less easily), it cannot be judiciously or even plausibly maintained that chance worked so systematically. The eleven odes in this volume are quite sufficient to establish the principle; but, if additional proof is needed, it will be shown in the succeeding instalments of this edition of Pindar, how amply the Olympian, Pythian and Isthmian Odes reinforce the evidence of the Nemeans, that τέχνη, not τύχη, arranged the answering echoes.

(2) If it be found that the echo-systems guide the student of Pindar to an adequate interpretation of the Odes, and enable him to discern the significance of the myths and the general connexions of thought,—then, regarding such results, it can only be said that, if this be chance, 'yet there's method in it'.

Now the explanations offered by Boeckh, Dissen and their successors, who possessed no directing clue, were certainly, and indeed confessedly, far from satisfactory. Their analysis was often true as far as it went, but it generally left serious difficulties unexplained. When Mezger discovered the law of verbal responsions, he found himself able to solve problems which had eluded his predecessors; and it is a feature of his commentary that the artistic unity of each hymn is exhibited and analysed more thoroughly than in previous works on Pindar. But even Mezger frequently failed, and left many knots untied, because he had not recognised that his 'responsions' were only part of a more general system of echoes and signals.

¹ Forty-five, assuming *Olymp.* v. to be genuine, and the Isthmian collection to consist of eight (not seven) Odes.

As an example of the inadequacy of hitherto proposed interpretations, I may point to the First Nemean. The chief question, which occurs to the student of any ode, is: what is the application of the myth? but in the case of the First Nemean this question forces itself on the attention with more than usual emphasis. What can the story of Heracles throttling the snakes have to do with Chromius of Syracuse? There might be little difficulty in agreeing that the general description of the labours of Heracles (ll. 63—68) is appropriate to the man who had fought at Helorus and led an unusually active life; but of all the exploits of Heracles why should that of his infancy be selected for a hymn celebrating a victory won in the chariot-race by a Sicilian noble? The answer of Dissen was, that, as Tiresias augured the future powers of Heracles from his achievement *in the cradle*, so Chromius had showed *in his early youth* at the Helorus what manner of man he was to be. It is clear that this answer is inadequate; nor indeed is it tenable. It is not tenable, because there is no reference or allusion to the battle of the Helorus throughout the Ode, and in the tale of the conflict with the snakes there is nothing to suggest it. It is inadequate, because no account is taken of the elaborate detail in which the exploit of Heracles is worked out. If Pindar merely meant what Dissen says, these details are superfluous and must be considered an obvious blemish in the poem. We have to believe that nearly half the ode is devoted to a description of accessories, which have nothing to do with the main idea and only draw the attention away from it. The selection of this event in the life of Heracles for comparison with the bravery of Chromius in battle does not, at the best, strike one as happy. But granting that Pindar might have likened the adventure with the snakes and the fighting at the Helorus as the opening incidents in two brilliant careers, he would assuredly have accentuated the point of likeness and passed over the details in which the dissimilarity was glaring. But this is just what he has not done. He has worked out an elaborate picture of the battle of the snakes, while he has not even alluded to the special exploit of Chromius supposed to be signified thereby.

On this question no new light was thrown in the various explanations offered by von Leutsch, Rauchenstein and L. Schmidt. All these interpretations left the remark of Schneider, that the poet 'verlor sich in eine Episode die gar kein Verhältniss zum Ganzen hat und dem Gedichte die fabelhafte Gestalt eines Hippocentaurus gibt', as true as ever. But Mezger, by the help of his discovery, advanced nearer a solution. He holds that the myth is intended to illustrate the truth

¹ Quoted by Mezger.

that all men have to contend with troubles and to show how they can overcome them. The trouble of Chromius was the malice and calumny of enemies, but by his native faculty he triumphed over them, even as Heracles proved himself superior to all the trials which beset him even from his cradle. The responsion of ἔσταν (l. 19) with ἔστα (l. 55) suggests that Amphitryon contemplating the triumph of Heracles over the snakes is compared to the poet contemplating the triumph of Chromius over his calumniators; and thus indicates what the intended parallel is.

This analysis is an important advance on all previous attempts, but it does not completely solve the difficulty. A general reference to detractors will hardly account for the elaborate picture of the slaying of the snakes. Moreover we find that the verses which describe the success of Chromius against his foes respond, not to anything in the episode of the δράκοντες, but to the lines in which Tiresias foretells that Heracles will distinguish himself by killing robbers and fighting with the Giants (ἀντίον l. 25, for example, signals to ἀντιάξωσιν, which Mezger did not observe). Thus as far as the general comparison is concerned, the episode under discussion might be spared; for the Giants and the θῆρες αἰδοροδίκαι of l. 63 amply suffice as prototypes of iniquitous foes and calumniators. We may infer that the combat with the snakes is introduced for the sake of some particular reference. This special instance of the victories of Heracles over θῆρες or κνώδαλα (l. 50) must have been selected in order to suggest some special victory of Chromius over 'beasts' who annoyed him. Here we have no clue, except so far as the language of the myth itself may reveal us something; for Pindar preferred to veil his special allusions in a fable which was perfectly lucid for Chromius and his friends. There is at least one inference which may be drawn with tolerable confidence. The enemies of Chromius specially alluded to were two,—neither more nor less. The accentuation of the dual number (δισσαῖσι δοιούς) can hardly be regarded as undesigned,—if it be once admitted that the myth had any application to contemporary fact. As the allusion to Chromius, which I suppose to be intended in l. 46, rests on a slight change in the reading of the MSS., I will not dwell on it here. The responsion ἔσταν—ἔστα was appreciated by Mezger, but he did not notice a further responsion, θέμεν—θέσαν (ll. 5, 59), which sustains the parallel between Heracles and the victor. But enough has been said for the present purpose; the other points bearing on the question will be set forth in the *Introduction* to the Ode under discussion.

It may be shown that another distinct difficulty in the same poem

yields to investigation, when Pindar's method of verbal signals is duly apprehended. The meaning of the opening lines is a puzzle as old as Didymus. Why is the river Alpheus introduced? Some say (according to the scholiast) that the stables of Hieron and Chromius were in Ortygia; for this reason Ortygia was mentioned; and Ortygia suggested Alpheus, though Alpheus has no connexion with the subject. Modern commentators throw no further light on the question.

It has been noticed by Mezger that in the last verses of this hymn there is an echo of the beginning (σεμνόν,—σεμνόν, ll. 1 and 72). There is another echo which he did not observe: θάλος, l. 2—θαλεράν, l. 71. Now the Ode closes with the prophecy of the apotheosis of Heracles and his marriage with Hebe. It is clear, therefore, that if these echoes have any signification, they must imply some bright augury for the future of Chromius; and *there must be some allusion to such an augury in the first lines of the Ode.* The solution is now obvious; and indeed the query of the scholiast might have put us on the right path. These are the words in which he states the difficulty:

ζητείται δέ, τί δῆποτε τῷ Ἀλφειῷ προσδιαλέγεται καὶ τῇ Ὀρτυγίᾳ, τῆς νίκης οὐκ οὔσης Ὀλυμπιακῆς, ἀλλὰ Νεμεακῆς.

That is, Ἀλφειοῦ would have been pertinent in an Olympian Ode. But it is now easy to see that the mention of Alpheus is not only quite in place, but wonderfully happy, although the Ode is not an Olympian. By this allusion the prospect of an Olympian wreath in the future is held out to the Nemean victor. Such a victory would be his crowning triumph, as the entry into the houses of the Gods was the crown of the career of Heracles.

This interpretation is strikingly confirmed by the reference to Olympian wreaths won by Sicilians in l. 17¹; and it should be observed that the words

Ὀλυμπιάδων φύλλοις ἐλαίᾳν χρυσέοις

in the 3rd line of the 1st epode are metrically identical with

υ—θαλεράν Ἥβαν ἄκοιτιν καὶ γάμον

in the 3rd line of the last epode. The meed foretold for Heracles responds to the meed foretold for Chromius.

If these reasons are cogent—and it seems to me that they cannot be eluded,—students of Pindar must henceforward avail themselves of the

¹ Timaeus actually inferred from this line that the Ode was not a Nemean but an Olympian, Schol. on l. 17: ἐντεῦθεν

ἴσως πλανηθεὶς ὁ Τίμαιος Ὀλυμπικὸν τὸν ἐπὶ νικῶν φήθη εἶναι (ed. Abel p. 27).

signals which the poet himself has placed to guide us. It may be urged against Mezger, it may be urged against me, that it is difficult to believe that Pindar alone of the Greek poets adopted such a system of connecting the trains of his thought. But in the first place, of the lyric poets complete compositions have not been preserved except Pindar's Epinicians; so that it is impossible to say what they did or did not. And in the second place it may be pointed out that the artifice of verbal signals was not unknown to Aeschylus. Pindar's elaborate systems of echoes may be illustrated by a familiar choral ode in the *Agamemnon*.

The second stasimon in that play (ll. 367—474), whose theme is suggested by the fall of Troy, falls into four parts. The first part (367—398) deals generally with the impossibility of hiding injustice, and asserts that the gods regard it. In the second part, this doctrine is applied to Paris: the flight of Helen is briefly described; and the δόμων προφήται lament the case of Menelaus (399—426). In the third part the poet passes to the woes brought upon Greece by the Trojan war and the feelings of discontent which prevailed against the Atridae (427—455). In the fourth part gloomy presentiments are expressed in the form of general moral remarks on the results of excessive prosperity and indifference to human life.—Now it is to be observed that although the import of the first section is apparently and professedly a comment on the crime of Paris (οἶος καὶ Πάρις ἔλθων l. 399), yet the poet dismisses this crime in a line or two and hurries on to Menelaus, as though he were the real theme of the Ode. It is quite clear that the preliminary moral reflexions are intended to apply to the Atridae as much as to Paris, and indeed they have a close resemblance to the moral reflexions at the close, which refer undisguisedly to the house of Atreus. The irony of the situation is that a very similar cause to that which overthrew the house of Priam is now about to bring low the house of the victors. It was an irony which gained by being covertly suggested rather than overtly expressed. And thus Aeschylus, while he directly identifies Paris with the ἀνὴρ who 'kicked the altar of Justice', does not state in so many words that Agamemnon or Menelaus might be considered examples of the same type. But he has conveyed this meaning indirectly by a number of artful echoes. (1) Phrases in the first part are taken up in the second—in the passage where the δόμων προφήται describe Menelaus after the departure of Helen. (2) The grief of Menelaus, as painted in that passage, for his lost wife is contrasted with the grief of the Greeks at home for their kinsfolk who fell in the war, by means of answering words. The details are as follows:

(1) (a) The elders state at the beginning of the Ode that they intend to 'search out the traces' of the great stroke which Zeus has dealt to Troy (*Διὸς πλαγάν*). Their words are

πάρεστι τοῦτό γ' ἐξιχνεύσαι.

The metaphor does not recur, and we forget that we are so to speak on a scent, until a strange phrase let fall by the *δόμων προφήται* reminds us that we are seeking traces. *στίβοι φιλόνορες* (*prints or traces of a wife's embrace*) is one of the most noticeable expressions in the whole hymn; and it was chosen, I believe, to suggest that the *στίβοι*, conceived as arousing the regrets of Menelaus and determining him to the fatal expedition, were in a deeper sense 'traces' in the course of the tragedy, —the *Διὸς πλαγά*, which is here traced out.

The elders begin their investigation by asserting that the gods do not disregard those

371 ὅσοις ἀθίκτων χάρις
πατοῖθ'.

The man who kicks the altar of justice has no defence against punishment.

οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἔπαλξις
382 πλούτου πρὸς κόρον ἀνδρὶ
λακτίσαντι μέγαν Δίκας
βωμόν εἰς ἀφάνειαν.

It is clear that the *Δίκας βωμός* is the *ἀθίκτων χάρις* under another aspect. Now by using the same metre and by introducing a responsion, the poet suggests that the son of Atreus is an example of such an *ἀνὴρ*. At the end of strophe 2 we find

εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν
417 ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρὶ.
ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις
ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.

Here is an *ἀνὴρ* who also scorns a certain *χάρις*. In both cases the cause of this scorn is assigned; and the two causes are parallel. The typical wicked 'man' is constrained by importunate Persuasion:

385 βιάται δ' ἅ τάλαινα πιθώ.

The man in the special case is the victim of persuasive dreams, which will not allow him to forget the treacherous wife:

420 ὀνειρόφαντοι δὲ πιθήμονες¹
πάρεσι δόξαι.

¹ Mr Housman's correction of *πενθήμονες*.

In both cases the vanity of hope is dwelt on. The fancy of the typical scorner that he may escape is vain; the fancy of Menelaus in his dream that he may clasp Helen is vain.

387 ἄκος δὲ πᾶν μάταιον.

421—δόξαι φέρονσαι χάριν ματαίαν.

μάταν γὰρ—

βέβακεν ὄψις.

But the parallel is carried further still. It has often struck me, and it may have struck others, that (in the first antistrophos of this Ode) it was somewhat strange to introduce the figure of *a boy chasing a bird* in the middle of another totally different metaphor taken from ill-mixed bronze.

We are now in a position to explain the motive of this. The boy chasing the bird is there for the purpose of the covert parallel. The unjust man attempting to hide, and Menelaus seeking to embrace the dream forms, are like men chasing winged things:

394 διώκει παῖς ποτανὸν ὄρνιν,

426 πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῖς ὕπνου κελεύθοις.

Another point which strikes the reader in the first strophe is the expression ἀθίκτων χάρις (already mentioned)—surely a somewhat strange one. It is highly probable that this phrase was echoed in words regarding Menelaus, and although a corruption in the mss. had long concealed the echo, the ingenuity of Mr Housman has brought it to light. In l. 420 we have, if this restoration is correct

—φέρονσαι χάριν ματαίαν.

μάταν γὰρ εὖτ' ἂν ἐς θιγὰς δοκᾶν ὄρα¹

—βέβακεν ὄψις κ.τ.λ.

Menelaus seeks to *touch* the *charming* visions; but they *cannot* be touched. The case of the transgressor was somewhat different: but the word ἀθικτος is ambiguous. The transgressor laid an impious touch on the *charm* of things which *must* not be *touched*. And this is more than a mere sport with words. The charm of the dream forms (it is implied) is the cause of the transgression of the Atridae. The apparitions of Helen in sleep are a poetical symbol for the brooding and longing regret of Menelaus, ultimately driving him to undertake the fatal expedition. Thus the dream forms, from this aspect, are literally

¹ Though I have printed Mr Housman's ὄρα (provisionally accepted by Mr Verrall), I question it. I should be inclined to

read θόρη. It would be quite in the manner of Aeschylus to picture Menelaus leaping up in his bed to clasp the vision.

the ἄθικτα, whose χάρις or spell, thrown over the man, tempts and compels him to transgression. He should have seen that Helen was ἄθικτος, like the dreams, and that it was ταιῖν (μάταιος too has a double sense) to seek to touch her.

(b) But there are some passages in the first part of this Ode to which a more distant echo answers. (1) The declaration in l. 370 that the theory which imputes to the gods disregard of transgressors is impious, is repeated in l. 461, with a definition however of the particular form of transgression meant: τῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ ἀπόσκοποι θεοί. (2) Again τὸ δ' ὑπερκότῳς κλύειν εὖ βαρύ l. 469 repeats, in a special form, what was said about excessive prosperity in 377 sqq. φλεόντων δωμάτων ὑπέρφειν ὑπὲρ τὸ βέλτιστον. What was before applied to the house of Priam is now repeated of the house of Atreus. (3) In both passages, with this denunciation of the 'excess' is closely connected a reference to moderate prosperity. 379 ἔστω δ' ἀπήμαντον (sc. τὸ βέλτιστον), ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν εὖ πραπίδων λαχόντα, 471 κρίνω δ' ἄφθορον ὄλβον· μήτ' εἴην πτολιπόρθης μήτ' οὖν αὐτὸς ἀλοὺς ὑπ' ἄλλων βίον κατίδοιμι¹. (4) When the curse comes on the transgressor, there is no defence or aid: 381 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἑπαλξίς κ.τ.λ., 466 ἐν δ' αἰστοῖς τελέθοντος οὐτις ἀλκά. (5) In both cases similar expressions are used for the destruction which awaits the transgressor, 384 εἰς ἀφάνειαν, 465 ἐν δ' αἰστοῖς. (6) The remarkable metaphor from the rubbing of bad bronze in the first antistrophos is echoed in the last antistrophos.

390 κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον
 τρίβῳ τε καὶ προσβολαῖς
 μελαμπαγῆς πέλει
 δικαιοθεῖς—
 πόλει πρόστριμμα θεὸς ἄφερτον.

This metaphor is not repeated, but another metaphor to the same intent is so expressed as to echo some of the words:

461 κελαιναὶ δ' Ἐρινυές χρόνῳ
 τυχηρὸν ὄντ' ἄνευ δίκας παλιντυχεῖ
 τριβᾷ βίον τιθεῖσ' ἀμανρόν.

It has not been definitely made out, what is the metaphor of παλιντυχεῖ τριβᾷ, but τριβᾷ echoes τρίβῳ and πρόστριμμα, both in sense and language, while the words ἀμανρόν and κελαιναί (of those who make ἀμανρόν) recall μελαμπαγῆς. The Erinyes are said to make the man *dim*, and this idea is carried on in words which follow

βάλλεται γὰρ ὅσσοις Διόθεν κεραννός.

¹ Of the last two words one is probably, both possibly, corrupt.

The lightning of Zeus is hurled upon their eyes. This βολή of Zeus is an element in the fatal progress of their doom, and was to the transgressors of l. 461 what προσβολαῖς was to the δικαιωθείς of l. 393; βάλλεται echoes προσβολαῖς.

(2) Another parallel is instituted between the grief of Menelaus for the loss of Helen, caused by the crime of Paris, and the grief of the Greeks at home for the loss of their fighting kinsfolk who fell at Troy through the crime of the Atridae. The parallel is worked out by echoing in the second description remarkable words which had been used in the first. As the length of this digression has already exceeded bounds, I will not enter into the details of comparison between these companion pictures. But one striking echo may be pointed out. The charm of the *fair* statues of Helen disappears as it were in the *hatred* of Menelaus for their blank gaze:

416 εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν
ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί.

Even so the *fair* bodies of the Greek warriors are lost in a land which *hates* them:

453 θήκας Ἰλιάδος γᾶς
εὐμορφοὶ κατέχουσιν· ἔχ-
θρὰ δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυσεν.

It appears then that the artifice of suggesting meanings by echoes was not confined to Pindar, although he practised it more systematically and more constantly than any other poet of whose work we have materials to judge. There is no reason to suppose that he originated the idea, but he may have been the first to develop it into a system. If we had the works of the early Greek lyric poets, we should doubtless be able to trace the evolution of this remarkable feature of Pindar's poetry. It might be conjectured that the 'responsion' is simply a subtle modification of the 'refrain', a feature of the most primitive poetry. The refrain is reduced to a catchword; and as poetry becomes more subtle and elaborate the catchwords and catch-phrases are varied, multiplied, refined; the iteration becomes more than a mere iteration, and of itself adds an idea. Such a development is intelligible, but we have not the data for tracing it.

Before leaving the subject, it is worth pointing out that Pindar sometimes takes a physical substance, bronze or gold, and rings significant changes throughout a poem. In the Tenth Nemean and in the Sixth Isthmian χαλκός, in some form, occurs in each metrical system. In the Third Pythian, in the Fifth Nemean, in the Sixth and Seventh

Olympians, the parts of the argument are connected by *golden* links. Silver has a special significance in the Ninth Olympian. Other sorts of words are effectively repeated in the same way; for example, ξείνος and its cognates in the Seventh Nemean. 'Works' are the keynote of the Eighth Olympian, and accordingly in the first epode we find ἔργω, in the second ἐργασίαις, in the third and in the fourth ἔργα. Now it is worth noticing that Sophocles adopts the same artifice. In the first choral ode of the *Oedipus Rex* (beginning ὦ Διὸς ἀδυνεπὲς φάτι) a remarkable effect is won by this device. The bright abode of the Pythian Apollo is almost physically borne in upon us by the *gold* ringing through the hymn. (1) τὰς πολυχρύσου Πυθῶνος l. 151, (2) ὦ χρυσέας τέκνον ἑλπίδος l. 157, (3) ὦ χρυσέα θύγατερ Διὸς l. 187, (4) χρυσοστρόφων ἀπ' ἀγκυλῶν l. 203, (5) τὸν χρυσομίτραν τε κικλήσκω (Dionysus) l. 209. We observe also the presence of *Aglaiā*; (1) ἀγλαάς l. 152, (2) αἴγλας l. 207, (3) ἀγλαῶπι l. 213. By such a recurrence of physical symbols Sophocles has determined the bright, hopeful atmosphere of this appeal to gracious deities.

Thus Pindar, like most great poets, was highly artificial. But he hid his art so effectually that we are only now beginning to apprehend how thoroughly self-conscious his poetry really was. His utterances seem spontaneous; his sentences flow without constraint; and yet every word was weighed. It is not within my scope to enter here upon an aesthetic disquisition, but I may point out one significant fact. It may appear to many modern minds that the dominant note of the Odes of Victory is 'unregenerate' indeed; Pindar might be described as the poet of the 'pride of life'. He consorted continually with the great of the earth, he moved among the strong and the beautiful, where none was 'sick or sorry', he derived his inspiration from success, being himself too intellectually successful in realising his desire of perfection. Kingdom and victory, nobility and wealth, strength and comely limbs, ἀγλαία and εὐφροσύνη, inherit his palaces of music. The impression left on the mind, after reading the Odes of Victory, is that 'lo, the kings of the earth are gathered and gone by together'. Now it is a significant fact (for the *Philosophy of History* or the *Philosophy of Aesthetic*) that this Pride of Life, in its untroubled phase, found expression in a spiritual art, which was flawless in the minutest details of order and diction, and yet moved in lofty places. It is thus suggested that where there has been no rending of the soul, art can be scrupulously accurate and achieve finite greatness; '*avec l'art chrétien nous éprouvons le trouble et le déchirement*'. Euripides, in the *Helena*, describes the

¹ E. Scherer, *Études critiques de littérature*, vol. I. p. 57.

life of Ganymede in the Olympian abode as καλλιγάληνος, and no single word perhaps describes more properly the art in which the Greek spirit revealed its rhythm. The calmness of the atmosphere, in which that art lived, was untroubled, for 'the wind which bloweth where it listeth' had not yet been loosed.

'Un rythme secret' M. Cherbuliez writes of the Greeks 'réglait leurs mouvements les plus vifs, et il se faisait, au fond de ces cœurs si bien gouvernés, comme le doux bruit d'une fête, dont une divinité, couronnée de fleurs, était la suprême ordonnatrice'. *A divinity crowned with flowers* is a happy image for the spirit which presided over 'the delightful things in Hellas' and illuminated Pindar's imagination. By the shores of the midland sea, not yet 'dolorous', were raised, under a really benignant breath, palaces of music, shining afar, and statues of ivory and gold. Haggard forlorn faces, wizened forms did not haunt the soul, nor were there any yearnings to heavenward, Grace, which maketh the ways of men soft¹, being arbitress then with undivided right and 'crowned with flowers' in those bright pagan borders. The spirit of man, bland but without effeminacy, dwelling, as it were, in a strong and beautiful body, had no thought of the faintness of old age, no foreboding of a day when it should leave the broken shell, naked, stark, pallid—as the Roman Emperor conceived the soul sundered from the body,—and be swept along dreary ways into wild places and 'devious coverts of dismay', which are known, at least partly, to those who live now, the experienced of the children of men. Pindar may well interest us as the most characteristic poet of that fortunate spirit.

¹ χάρις δ' ἅπερ ἅπαντα τεύχει τὰ μέλιχα θνατοῖς (First Olympian, l. 30), which means that men owe all their aesthetic pleasures to Charis; in other language, Charis is the divinity of art and of the fairest things of nature. For Charis in Pindar see *Appendix B.*—Cf. Lübbert,

op. cit. p. 16: 'Die Olympischen Götter werden durch menschliches Leid und Elend, welches in das Bild der einigen Schönheit der Welt nicht passen wird, beleidigt; der Anblick von Leichen verunreinigt sie'.

2. *The Construction of the Pindaric Ode.*

The question how the metrical divisions are related to the divisions of argument in Pindar's Odes, seems at first sight to present considerable difficulties. Does each ode, when we regard its matter, fall into divisions which do not coincide with the terminations of the strophic systems, or are the two sets of divisions coincident? With this question I propose to deal. Before dealing with it, however, I must clear the ground by considering the ingenious but, as I hope to show, groundless theory of Westphal and Mezger concerning the construction of the Pindaric hymn.

Westphal has sought to prove, that the hymn of Pindar is built on the same lines as the nome of Terpander¹, and can be analysed into the parts of which the 'Terpandrian nome is said to have consisted². Each hymn falls into three major divisions, (1) the ἀρχά, (2) the ὀμφαλός and (3) the σφραγίς. The transition from the ἀρχά to the ὀμφαλός is called the κατατροπά, that from the ὀμφαλός to the σφραγίς is the μετακατατροπά. In some hymns a προοίμιον goes before the ἀρχά, and sometimes, though rarely, there is an ἐπαρχά or transition from the προοίμιον to the ἀρχά³. In some hymns too there is an ἐξόδιον or *finale*, succeeding the σφραγίς.

Of these parts, the ὀμφαλός, as its name betokens, is the centre and kernel of the composition, and it contains the chief thought (*Hauptgedanke*) of the poem. Thus the nome of Terpander and, according to Mezger, the ode of Pindar resembled in structure the pediment of a

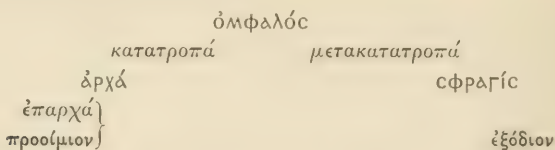
¹ *Prolegomena zu Aeschylus' Tragödien*, 1869. The theory, as worked out by Mezger, was briefly criticised by Mr Mahaffy in the Preface to his *History of Greek Literature*, vol. I. 2nd ed. 1883; and afterwards by Professor Gildersleeve

in the Introduction to his edition of the *Olympian and Pythian Odes*.

² Pollux, iv. 66.

³ For example in the Thirteenth Olympian Ode, which has also an ἐξόδιον, according to Mezger's analysis.

temple. There is a central group, with antiphonic groups on either side which might be represented thus :



Mezger claims to have shown that these divisions underlie all Pindar's odes, except six, of which the compass is too short to admit of such elaboration, and the Eleventh 'Nemean' which is not an ode of victory ; but even in these a triplicity, which suggests ἀρχά, ὀμφαλός and σφραγίς, can be traced.

This idea sounds extremely plausible, but will not stand examination. It must however be distinctly understood that his discovery of the verbal responsions in Pindar is really quite independent of Westphal's attempt to detect the Terpandrian nome lurking in the Odes of Victory. We can reject Westphal's Terpandrian divisions, while we accept the new light thrown by Mezger on the ἐπέων θέσις ; just as we might accept Fick's theory of the original language of the Odyssey, though we reject the special analysis of Kirchhoff on which Fick has worked.

The considerations, which, in my judgment, are fatal to Westphal's theory as worked out by Mezger, may be stated as follows :

1. It implies that Pindar constructed his strophic system and his trains of thought quite independently ; it implies that the matter and form of each poem were totally unconnected¹. For when the odes are analysed on the principle of the Terpandrian nome we find that the strophes are sometimes cut up, sometimes not, at haphazard, by the divisions of Mezger. Now this independence of matter and form is, *a priori*, highly unlikely ; it is certainly not consonant with the spirit of Greek art. It devolved upon Westphal and Mezger to show cause for such a strange proceeding, and they have not done so. We know very little about Terpander's nome, but it certainly seems extremely probable that the corresponding parts corresponded in metre. As the ἀρχά answered to the σφραγίς, we may conjecture that ἀρχά and σφραγίς were similar in metre. The κατατροπή was taken up by the μετακατατροπή, as the nomenclature indicates ; is it not probable that they were metrically the same ? No such metrical correspondence can be found in Pindar :

¹ This obvious objection has of course been noticed by every critic who has dealt with the question. See, for example,

Mr Gildersleeve's *Pindar*, Introductory Essay, p. lii.

and thus Mezger's theory implies that the Terpanurian divisions were transferred into a new metrical system for which they were not intended, without any attempt to compass a harmony between the old and the new. That such a consummate artist as Pindar would have been satisfied with this patchwork it is impossible to believe.

2. Waiving the question of the metre, we find that Mezger's analysis of the Odes does not always conform to the structure of the Terpanurian nome. They do not all resemble a pediment, of which the ὀμφαλός forms the central group. For of some hymns the ἀρχή occupies the larger portion; in some the σφραγίς begins before the middle. Thus the ὀμφαλός is sometimes in the first half of the hymn and sometimes in the second¹; it is not always in the middle. Such flagrant inequalities in proportion, as well as the absence of correspondence in metre, throw discredit on the theory.

3. If then neither fixed relations of metre nor fixed length are marks of the Terpanurian divisions in Pindar, it remains that they should be at least distinguished by some definite character in point of matter. Here certainly the champions of the nome seem to have something to urge for their cause. It is pointed out as the mark of the ὀμφαλός that it contains the myth. But even this mark is not certain, and Mezger has to confess that there are six odes² in which the ὀμφαλός does not contain the myth. Allowing the exceptions to pass, we ask whether, after all, this observation proves anything. Supposing that there had never been any such thing as a Terpanurian nome, should not we expect to find, as a general rule, the illustrative legend placed somewhere in the middle of the poem? The natural conditions of such a work evidently demand that the poet should begin with his proper theme, that he should pass from it to the mythical tale which illustrates it, and that he should then return to his theme again. In certain cases some artistic effect may be gained by not returning again, as in the First and Tenth Nemean Odes. Now if Pindar's hymns conform to this obvious law of art, how can such a conformity prove any relationship to Terpanur's nomes? And the same argument applies to the κατατροπά and μετακατατροπά. As a matter of course, there are transitions in Pindar's Odes. There must be a transition to the myth; and the poet, as a rule, passes back again to the personal theme of the poem. But

¹ This doubtless is what Wilamowitz-Moellendorff means when he says (Euripides, *Herakles*, B. I. p. 329 note): 'Dies gedicht (*Nem.* I.) und N. 10 dürfte man zunächst von den herra erklärt wünschen,

welche Pindar auf das kreuz des terpanurischen nomos schlagen'.

² *Pythian* I. and IX., *Nemean* I. and X., *Isthmian* II. and VI.

there is no sufficient reason for identifying these transitions with the *catatropa* and *metacatatropa* of the nome. It is true that there is constantly a connexion in idea between these parts, in the analysis of Mezger. But this does not amount to a proof, and, if it did, it would prove too much, for in every hymn there are parallelisms of idea in many places. Mezger also points out that in certain cases, where the *κατατροπά* and *μετακατατροπά* happen to correspond partially in metre, there are verbal responsions. But this observation likewise proves too much; for verbal responsions occur in all the parts, indifferently, and are not peculiar to these two divisions.

It appears then that Mezger has produced no sufficient reason for identifying the divisions into which he has broken up the Odes of Pindar with the divisions of the Terpanurian nome, recorded by Pollux. It appears also that in point of form there is much to be said against this theory; for it involves divisions which are neither symmetrical in length nor confederate with the metre.

4. If Pindar really did adopt the structure of the Terpanurian nome as his *τεθμός*, it is very strange that he makes no allusion to it. For such an allusion would have been quite in his manner. It seems almost certain that he would have sometimes hinted at those characteristic names, the *seal* and the *navel*. As no such an allusion is to be found in the Odes, there is, to my mind, a presumption that these names were not the keywords of his *τεθμός*.

We may then set aside as groundless the doctrine that Pindar built his odes by the canon of the Terpanurian nome. We must also set aside the misleading comparison of a Pindaric Ode to the pediment of a temple. If there had been any real analogy between the Theban and the Corinthian eagles, Pindar would not have failed to remark it¹. He would have eagerly grasped the opportunity of likening his hymns to pediments, just as he likens them occasionally to statues and often to palaces.

Of one fact at least as to the construction of Pindar's hymns we are assured. We know that those hymns, which were to be sung by a chorus in procession, consist of a number of repetitions of a strophe; hence they are called monostrophic. We know that the *stasima*, which

¹ In *Ol.* XIII. 21 Pindar mentions the pediment (*ἀετός*) as an invention of the Corinthians, along with the curb and the dithyramb, (*τῆς...θεῶν ναοῖσιν οἰωνῶν βασιλῆα δίδυμον ἐπέθηκε*); but he suggests no

comparison between the *ἀετός* and his own odes. It seems to me that too much is made of this passage in the admirable essay on 'Pindar's Odes of Victory' in the *Quarterly Review* (Jan. 1886) p. 171.

were sung by a standing chorus, consist of a number of repetitions of a system. By *system* I mean the metrical group which consists of strophe, antistrophe and epode. These are the obvious elementary facts about the form of Pindar's Odes. The problem is to determine how the matter is related to the form. It would be inconsistent with the first principles of all Greek literary art to suppose that no such relation existed. It would be absurd to imagine that Pindar constructed his odes on two discordant systems without any attempt to harmonise them, or that he adopted a form which had no relation to the matter. This problem chiefly concerns the stasima. The monostrophic hymns, which are comparatively few in number, present little difficulty.

If all the hymns were like the Eleventh 'Nemean', the problem would be easily solved. That composition consists of three systems, and each system is an unity in itself. The divisions of matter and form in this case absolutely coincide. The whole poem is an unity; but it is built up of three subordinate unities of equal length. This hymn however is exceptional; it is not the Pindaric type. In the first place, all the odes are not formally threefold. Of the extant odes, nine (including 'Nemean' xi.) consist of three systems, eleven consist of four systems, and eleven consist of five systems. In the long Fourth Pythian there are thirteen repetitions of the metrical unit. Thus odes consisting of three systems are in the minority. In the second place we cannot in the other odes distinguish subordinate unities punctually coinciding with the metrical unities, as in the Eleventh 'Nemean'. In most cases the train of thought and the grammar run on from one system into another.

The inference which we are entitled to draw is clear. The Eleventh 'Nemean' represents an older type, against which Pindar's other odes are a reaction. It is a misfortune that no complete ode remains from the workshop of Stesichorus, who had the glory of inventing the system of strophe, antistrophe and epode. But we may consider it probable that the Eleventh 'Nemean' represents the Stesichorean type. I have little doubt that in the hymn of Stesichorus each system was a subordinate unity, shut up in itself. My contention is supported by the circumstance that the Eleventh 'Nemean' is just the work which we might expect to represent an older form. For it is the only one of Pindar's extant odes which is not an ode of victory. It was composed for the *aisitiria* of a prytanis of Tenedos, and in a hymn for such an occasion Pindar was more likely to be conservative.

We are now much nearer to a solution of our problem. In proposing that problem we have a certain standard in our minds. Our

standard is a hymn in which the divisions of matter and the divisions of form should punctually coincide; and as we see at the first glance that Pindar does not conform to such a standard, we ask, why? Had he some other canon? But now we have advanced to another point of view, and we have at least reason for suspecting that Pindar was purposely avoiding the very standard, which we might have expected him to adopt.

The type of the Eleventh 'Nemean' is directly opposed to the divisions which Mezger has sought to establish in the epinician hymns. In the former case there is absolute coincidence in the partitions of matter and form; in the latter case there is no coincidence at all; or, if there is occasionally, it is purely accidental. Now a careful examination of all the odes shows that Pindar followed neither of these plans. The principle assumed by Mezger would indeed never have occurred to him: for it is thoroughly inartistic. But the other principle was doubtless the established canon of the Stesichorean hymn, and Pindar must have had a definite design in abandoning it.

It is not difficult to see Pindar's motive here. The sheer divisions between the parts of the hymn produce a stiff and unpleasing effect. The full stops interrupt the flow; and the unity of the whole is to some extent sacrificed to the integrity of the parts. The want of transitions is felt. We can appreciate this stiffness of effect in the Eleventh 'Nemean', and we can understand how much was gained by abandoning that type, when we compare with it one of the epinicians.

What Pindar had to do then was to break down the wall of partition between the metrical systems. While he preserved the general correspondence between divisions of thought and divisions of metre, it was his aim to make the whole ode as far as possible continuous. Wherever the sense is obviously continuous, it makes little difference whether the systems are syntactically connected or not. Such is the case, for example, in the narration of a story. It is when a new system introduces a new division of the composition that Pindar is careful to avoid a break or a full stop. He tries, as it were, to disguise the division by an intentional overlapping. Sometimes indeed, though rarely, we find an absolute break.—a survival of the old method; but in such cases some special effect is aimed at. In many cases the continuity is formally preserved by a relative pronoun or a relative adverb, at the beginning of the new system. But most often there is an overlapping; the last words of an epode belong to the following strophe or the first words of a strophe belong to the foregoing epode. Occasionally the overlapping is considerable, but in these cases there was generally a special motive.

There is some reason for conjecturing that in his later years Pindar handled his transitions with much greater freedom than in his early period.

The comparison which Pindar institutes between his odes and works of architecture¹ throws light on his procedure. He likens his works not to pediments but to palaces. Holding to this metaphor, we may regard the metrical systems as the rooms of the palace; the first for example being the *πρόθυρον*, as 'the mason' himself suggests in the opening lines of the Sixth Olympian. According to the old type, the systems were like unconnected compartments, each shut into itself. Pindar's improvement was to open the doors of connexion; in his odes, each chamber communicates with that which follows, so that the Muse can sweep on unhindered from ingress to egress.

In order to establish this it will be necessary to consider briefly each ode separately. For our present purpose we may divide the odes, according to the number of systems, into four classes: Odes (1) of 3 systems, (2) of 4 systems, (3) of 5 systems; (4) the Fourth Pythian, consisting of 13 systems. It is worthy of observation that there are no odes of two systems².

I. All the odes of three systems are tripartite in matter as well as in metre. The mythical part is generally in the centre, but not always.

(1) I begin with the Sixth Nemean because it contains a survival of the want of continuity which characterised the old type. The third system begins abruptly, without any attempt at a transition; and this is certainly unlike the usual procedure of Pindar. The connexion between the first and second systems is smoothed by the relative *ἐπεὶ*. In this hymn the myth is in the third part.

(2) In the Eighth Nemean (*a*) the first line of strophe 2 (beginning with *δοσπερ*) is closely connected with the last line of epode 1. The second division of the ode properly begins in the second line of the strophe. (*b*) The other transition is smoothed by *τοιοῦτον* at the beginning of the 3rd system, referring to the last words of the 2nd epode. The myth is in the centre.

(3) The second transition (from the second to the third system) in the Fifth Nemean is very skilfully managed. The myth, which

¹ Furtwängler (in *die Siegesgesänge des Pindaros*) has worked out curiously a parallel between the Pindaric Ode and the Greek temple.

² Thus Bergk's conjecture that the 3rd 'Isthmian' (acc. to his numbering) originally consisted of two triads, of which one has been lost, was not happy.

occupies the second division of the hymn, leads, quite naturally, up to Poseidon, and in Poseidon's company we pass from legend to the Isthmus and athletic victories won there. The third strophe begins

γαμβρόν Ποσειδάωνα πείσαις, ὃς Αἰγᾶθεν κ.τ.λ.

This is one of Pindar's most strikingly successful transitions.

On the other hand the first and second systems of this hymn are not connected; but the want of connexion is intentional. Pindar notifies this by calling a halt, as it were, at the end of the first epode:

στάσομαι· οὐ τοι ἅπαντα κ.τ.λ.

and the second strophe begins abruptly a new subject, with the usual δέ.

(4) The Third Olympian affords another example of a very successful transition. (a) The myth of Heracles visiting the Hyperboreans and obtaining there the olive tree to plant at Olympia occupies the central system. It is thus introduced

.....epode 1

.....

...γλαυκόχροα κόσμον ἐλαίας, τάν ποτε

Ἴστρον ἀπὸ σκιαρᾶν παγᾶν ἔνεικεν Ἀμφιτρωνιάδας

μῆμα τῶν Οὐλυμπία κάλλιστον ἀέθλων,

strophe 2

δάμον Ὑπερβορέων πείσαις κ.τ.λ.

We thus pass to a new part, without a break in the continuity. (b) The conclusion of the legend extends a short way into the third system; but only such a part of it as closely bears on the Olympian festival to which the poet then returns.

(5) The Second Isthmian is marked by the absence of the mythical element. In both the transitions there is an overlapping. (a) The Isthmian victory of Xenocrates leads us from the first system to the second, in which past victories at other festivals are recorded. (b) The first two lines of the third system are connected not with what follows but with what precedes.

(6) In the Fifth Isthmian (Bergk's numbering) the myth is in the centre. (a) The last sentence of epode 1 overflows into strophe 2—τάνδ' ἐς εὐνομον πόλιν, and in this position these words become very emphatic. (b) The third system is connected with the second by the relative τοῖσιν, referring to heroes mentioned in epode 2.

(7) The legend of Telamon occupies the middle system of the Sixth Isthmian (Bergk's numbering). (a) It is introduced thus:

οὐδ' ἔστιν οὕτω βάρβαρος οὔτε παλίγγλωστος πόλις
 ἄτις οὐ Πηλέος...κλέος...

strophe 2

οὐδ' ἄτις Αἴαντος Τελαμωνιάδα
 καὶ πατρός· τὸν κ.τ.λ.

(b) The legend runs on into the 3rd strophe, occupying no less than five lines. This excessive overlapping requires an explanation; and the explanation clearly is that the poet wished to make the words of the prophet, contained in these lines, particularly emphatic, and to point their application to the matter in hand.

(8) In the Seventh Isthmian (Bergk's numbering) the mythical matter is in the first part. (a) The transition from the first to the second system is divided between them both:

...ἀμνάμονες δὲ βροτοί,

strophe 2

ὅ,τι μὴ σοφίας κ.τ.λ.

(b) The second and third system also overlap:

ἀπέπνευσας αἰλικίαν

strophe 3

προμάχων ἀν' ὄμιλον, ἐνθ' κ.τ.λ.

at which point Pindar leaves Strepsiades μάτρωσ.

In regard, then, to the odes of three systems we see that each consists of three parts, coincident in form and matter. Eight such epinician odes are extant, and in these eight there are consequently 16 cases of transition from system to system. In only two of the 16 cases is there an absolute break; and one of these two breaks is designed.

II. Odes of four systems are of three kinds, bipartite, tripartite, and quadripartite. They are bipartite when there is a close connexion between systems 1 and 2, and between systems 3 and 4. They are tripartite when systems 2 and 3 form an unity. They are quadripartite when each system stands by itself. Of the eleven odes of this structure, three are bipartite (*Nemean* 1., *Pythian* v., and *Isthmian* iv.), five tripartite (*Pythian* x., *Nemean* iii., *Olympians* 1., viii., ix.) and three quadripartite (*Isthmian* 1., *Pythian* ii. and xi.).

(1) The First Nemean is bipartite, the myth occupying the second half. The introduction to the myth begins in the second epode, where the birth of Heracles is related; but the main tale of the battle with

the serpents does not begin till the third strophe. Pindar signifies this by the resumption of *ὥς*,

epode 2
ὥς ἐπεὶ.....

 strophe 3
ὥς οὖ λαθὼν κ.τ.λ.

The second *ὥς* is as much as to say: 'the last two lines of the epode were an anticipation; we are now really entering on the second part of the hymn'.

In the two subordinate transitions there is no loss of continuity. *ἐπέβαν* (last line of epode 1) and *ἔσταν δ'* (first line of strophe 2) have the same subject. The fourth system continues the tale of Heracles.

(2) The Fifth Pythian falls into two parts, and the myth occupies part of the second. The transition is made by the relative *ὃ* at the beginning of strophe 3. The subordinate transitions are cases of overlapping¹.

(3) The Fourth Isthmian (according to Bergk's numbering) is bipartite; the first part is concerned rather with the family of the victor Melissus, the second part with himself. The transition is managed cleverly. Ajax at the end of the 2nd epode suggests Homer who honoured him, and thus leads to the power of poetry. The two subordinate transitions in this ode are marked by grammatical continuity.

(4) The Tenth Pythian, Pindar's earliest extant hymn, is tripartite, the myth coming in the central division. (a) The first words of strophe 2 and the last of epode 1 form one idea,

ἔποιτο μοῖρα καὶ ὑστέραισιν
ἐν ἀμέραις ἀγάνορα πλοῦτον ἀνθεῖν σφίσιν·
 strophe 2
τῶν δ' ἐν Ἑλλάδι τερπνῶν
.....ἐπικύρσαιεν.

The central part consists of general reflexions and the Hyperborean myth. (b) There is a break between systems 3 and 4, but Pindar prepares for a new subject by the last words of epode 3,

ἐγκωμίων γὰρ ἄωτος ὕμνων
ἐπ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὥτε μέλισσα θύνει λόγον.

¹ It might be thought that the return from the myth to Arcesilaus in the end of the 4th strophe ought to mark a new division. But the myth is so intimately

connected with Cyrene that such a division was unnecessary, and Pindar clearly intended to emphasize the intimate connexion formally.

(5) The mythical narratives in *Nemean* III. fill the second and third systems, and thus it is tripartite. (a) The transition is skilful. The proverbial pillars of Heracles introduce the myth of Heracles in the western sea.

οὐκέτι—

κίωνων ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλέος περᾶν εὐμαρές,

strophe 2

ἦρως θεὸς ἄς κ.τ.λ.

(b) The first line of strophe 4 belongs in sense to the preceding epode:

τηλανγὲς ἄραρε φέγγος Αἰακιδᾶν αὐτόθεν.

But at the same time it lights us forward as well as backward.

In the subordinate division between systems 2 and 3 there is a break.

(6) The First Olympian is tripartite. (a) The first and second systems overlap. Preparations for the myth begin in epode 1. (b) The myth runs over into the fourth strophe, but so as to bring us back to the Alpheus.

(7) The Eighth Olympian is also tripartite. (a) The transition from system 1 to system 2 is thus managed:

ἀσκέϊται Θέμις

strophe 2

ἔξοχ' ἀνθρώπων.

(b) The third part is begun at the end of the 3rd epode

νῦν μὲν αὐτῷ γέρας Ἀλκιμέδων κ.τ.λ.

(8) The Ninth Olympian falls into three parts. (a) The myth is thus introduced:

epode 1

ἀγαθοὶ δὲ καὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ δαίμον' ἄνδρες

strophe 2

ἐγένοντ'. ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ.

(b) Part 3 begins in the penultimate line of the 3rd epode

προξενία δ' ἀρετᾷ τ' ἦλθον κ.τ.λ.

(9) The First Isthmian naturally resolves itself into four parts, corresponding to the four systems. (a) The myth, which is placed in the second system, begins in the last line of the 1st epode:

κεῖνοι γὰρ ἡρώων κ.τ.λ.

(b) The theme of the third system is introduced in the last lines of the 2nd epode, and there is grammatical continuity :

γαρύσομαι—τὰν Ἀσποδώρου πατρὸς αἶσαν
strophe 3
Ὀρχομενοῖό τε πατρώαν ἄρουραν, κ.τ.λ.

(c) Between the 3rd and 4th systems there is a break, strophe 4 beginning thus :

ἄμμι δ' ἔοικε Κρόνον σεισίχθον' υἱόν κ.τ.λ.

But the abruptness is much lessened by the circumstance that he is proceeding to carry out what he said in the 2nd epode :

ἐγὼ δὲ Ποσειδάωνί τ' Ἴσθμῳ τε...περιστέλλων αἰοιδάν,

ἐγὼ is taken up by ἄμμι, and Ποσειδάωνι by σεισίχθον' υἱόν.

(10) The Second Pythian consists of four parts. (a) The myth of Ixion is introduced in epode 1. (b) There is a sharp break between systems 2 and 3, but there was a special intention here. Pindar wished to emphasize θεός, the opposition of θεοί and βροτοί being an important element in the ode. The 3rd strophe begins

θεὸς ἅπαν ἐπὶ Φελπιδέσσι τέκμαρ ἀνύεται,
θεός, ὃ καὶ κ.τ.λ.

Thus the word is emphasized in two ways, by its abrupt introduction and by its repetition. (c) The fourth part begins in the last line of epode 3, and there is grammatical continuity.

(11) The Eleventh Pythian is peculiar. It falls into four parts, but Pindar suggests that it was very nearly becoming a poem of three parts. (a) The relative τὸν δὴ connects the second system, which is occupied with the myth of Orestes, and the first. (b) The myth runs on into the third system, so that we expect it to occupy two systems. But at the beginning of the 3rd antistrophos Pindar pulls himself up with these remarkable words

ἦ ῥ', ὦ φίλοι, κατ' ἀμευσίπορον τρίοδον ἐδινάθην,
ὀρθὰν κέλευθον ἰὼν τοπρίν· ἦ μέ τις ἄνεμος ἔξω πλόον
ἔβαλεν ὥς ὅτ' ἄκατον εἰναλίαν;

This is a sort of apology for not concluding the myth at the end of the second epode. Of course the apology is ironical; ἐδινάθην and ἔξω πλόον are also ironical; for it was with a design that Pindar let the myth overflow. Nevertheless his words indicate that he was doing an unusual thing. The result is that the third division of the hymn consists partly of matter that might seem to belong to the second

division, partly of matter that might seem appropriate to the fourth division and partly of an explanation of the irregularity. (c) The fourth part begins with

$\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\theta\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\nu\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\omega\nu$

n the second line of strophe 4.

In the eleven Odes, which have four systems, we have met two cases of an abrupt transition (in the First Isthmian and the Second Pythian), and in both these cases we have seen that there are reasons which mitigate or explain the abruptness.

III. Eleven of the remaining Pindaric odes have five metrical systems, and these systems are combined in various ways. (a) The favourite type is that in which systems 2, 3 and 4 are closely connected; thus—

$$1 = \overbrace{2 + 3 + 4} = 5.$$

To this type belong *Olympians* II., VI., VII., X. and *Nemean* VII. (b) Another symmetrical form is

$$\overbrace{1 + 2} = 3 = \overbrace{4 + 5}.$$

The First and Eighth Pythians are thus constructed. (c) The Third and Ninth Pythians are bipartite, a continuous narration running through the first three systems:

$$\overbrace{1 + 2 + 3} = \overbrace{4 + 5}.$$

(d) The Thirteenth Olympian and (e) the Tenth Nemean have each four parts, but not distributed exactly in the same way:

$$(d) \quad 1 = 2 = \overbrace{3 + 4} = 5$$

$$(e) \quad 1 = 2 = 3 = \overbrace{4 + 5}.$$

We may consider the Odes in this order.

(1) In the Second Olympian (a) the last sentence of epode 1 runs into strophe 2 and (b) the myth is concluded in the beginning of strophe 5.

(2) In the Sixth Olympian (a) there is a pause between the first and second systems. Strophe 2 begins thus:

$\text{᾽}\Omega\ \Phi\acute{\iota}\nu\tau\iota\varsigma,\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \zeta\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\xi}\omicron\nu\ \eta\delta\eta\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \sigma\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\omicron\iota\nu.$

The abruptness is happy, for it gives the effect of making haste to reach Olympia. (b) The transition from system 4 to system 5 is veiled by grammatical continuity.

(3) The transitions in the Seventh Olympian are managed by

relatives; (*a*) τοῖσιν connects system 2 with system 1 and (*b*) τόθι connects system 5 with system 4.

(4) In the Tenth Olympian, (*a*) a general remark in the last two lines of epode 1, followed by a general reflexion in the first two lines of strophe 2, forms the transition to the myth. (*b*) The third part begins in the last line of the 4th epode.

(5) The three central systems of the Seventh Nemean belong closely together, although the mythical part ends in the third strophe. By this means Pindar has indicated that the myths are intimately connected with the words which he addresses to Thearion in the 3rd epode and with what he says to Sogenes in the 4th strophe and antistrophos. (*a*) The transition to the myths is a criticism of Homer which begins in the last lines of epode 1. (*b*) The third part of the ode begins at the end of the 4th epode—λέγοντι γὰρ Αἰακόν κ.τ.λ.

(6) Of the First Pythian (*a*) the second part, which occupies the third system, begins in the second line of strophe 3: ἄνδρα δ' ἐγὼ κεῖνον κ.τ.λ. (*b*) The fourth system is connected with the third by the relative τῷ.

(7) In the Eighth Pythian (*a*) the transition from the second to the third system is skilful:

epode 2

.....
 λόγον φέρεις
 τὸν ὄνπερ ποτ' Ὀικλέος παῖς ἐν ἐπταπύλοις ἰδὼν
 Θήβαις υἱὸς αἰνίξατο παρμένοντας αἰχμᾶ,
 strophe 3
 ὁπότ' ἀπ' Ἀργεος ἦλυθον κ.τ.λ.

It will be observed that while the narration is continuous we do not know that we are to have the myth until the third strophe begins. (*b*) Between the third and fourth systems there is an apparent break. Strophe 4 begins with an address to Apollo:

τὸν δ', ἑκαταβόλε, πάνδοκον
 ναὸν εὐκλέα διαμέμων
 Πυθῶνος ἐν γυάλοις κ.τ.λ.

But as Delphi is directly suggested in the last lines of epode 3,

(ὕπάντασεν ἰόντι γὰς ὀμφαλὸν παρ' ἀοίδιμον
 μαντευμάτων τ' ἐφάψατο συγγόνιοις τέχναις)

the passage to the last part of the hymn is not really abrupt. In fact this case might be quoted to illustrate Pindar's care in smoothing transitions.

(8) The myth occupies the first three systems of the Third Pythian. The 3rd epode leads gradually up to the Αἰτναῖος ξένος,

ὃς Συρακόσσαισι νέμει βασιλεύς—strophe 4.

(9) Between the two parts of the Ninth Pythian there is, superficially, a sharper division than usual. The myth ends in the middle of epode 3, the rest of which is occupied by a declaration of the victory achieved by Telesicrates :

καὶ νῦν ἐν Πυθῶνί νιν [Κυράναν] ἀγαθέα Καρνειάδα
 υἱὸς εὐθαλεῖ συνέμιξε τύχα,
 ἔνθα νικάσαις ἀνέφανε Κυράναν ἃ νιν εὐφρων δέξεται
 καλλιγύναικι πάτρα
 δόξαν ἱμερτὰν ἀγαγόντ' ἀπὸ Δελφῶν.

strophe 4

ἀρεταὶ δ' αἰεὶ μεγάλαι πολύμυθοι·
 βαιὰ δ' ἐν μακροῖσι ποικίλλειν
 ἀκοὰ σοφοῖς· ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὁμοίως
 παντὸς ἔχει κορυφάν.

The last lines of the epode in the strictest sense belong to the first part of the hymn. The myth is both preceded and followed by notifications of 'Telesicrates' victory ; and these lines express in a new way the idea which the first lines of the hymn had already stated. Thus we come to a full stop at the word Δελφῶν, and if the hymn had ended here we might have thought it a complete composition. ἀρεταὶ δ' αἰεὶ μεγάλαι seems to begin anew, and although we apprehend on reflexion that the general expression is suggested by the particular ἀρετά of Telesicrates, just mentioned, still it cannot be denied that there is as rough a break here between the systems, as either of the breaks in the Eleventh Nemean. It may be that by this break Pindar wished to introduce with solemn emphasis his thoughts about Opportunity ; for this idea is the feature of the ode, called by Mezger 'Das Hohelied von καιρός'.

(10) In the Thirteenth Olympian (a) there is a sufficient break between systems 1 and 2 to invest the prayer to Zeus with a due solemnity. The first system eulogizes Corinth and strophe 2 begins

ὔπατ' εὐρυναάσσων
 Ὀλυμπίας...

.....

καὶ τόνδε λαὸν ἀβλαβῇ νέμων κ.τ.λ.

There is no stiffness in a transition like this. (b) There is sufficient

connexion of thought between the end of epode 2 and the first lines of strophe 3 to obviate the unpleasant effect of a complete break.

ὥς μὰν σαφὲς
οὐκ ἂν εἰδείην λέγειν ποντιᾶν ψάφων ἀριθμόν.
strophe 3
ἔπεται δ' ἐν ἐκάστῳ
μέτρον· νοῆσαι δὲ καιρὸς ἄριστος.

(c) There is a greater break between systems 4 and 5.

epode 4
.....
διασωπάσομαί οἱ μόρον ἐγώ,
τὸν δ' ἐν Οὐλύμπῳ φάτναι Ζηνὸς ἀρχαῖαι δέκονται.
strophe 5
ἔμὲ δ' εὐθὺν ἀκόντων
ἰέντα ῥόμβον παρὰ σκοπὸν οὐ χρὴ κ.τ.λ.

Here the emphatic repetition of the first personal pronoun helps to bridge across a passage to the new system.

(11) In the Tenth Nemean (a) the first line of strophe 2 refers directly to the theme of system 1. (b) There is a slight break between systems 2 and 3, but the subject of the verb (ἔμολεν) in the last line of epode 2 is directly addressed in the first line of strophe 3. (c) The third epode leads up to the myth. The direct continuity is superficially broken by the interposed reflexion (καὶ μὰν θεῶν πιστὸν γένος) at the end of epode 3.

From this analysis it appears that in the eleven odes consisting of five metrical systems, there is only one case of an abrupt division, without an apparent motive, namely in the Ninth Pythian.

IV. The Fourth Pythian stands by itself as the only surviving specimen of an ode exceeding in length the measure of five systems. It falls naturally into three parts, the myth extending from strophe 4 to epode 11. Thus:

$$\overbrace{1 + 2 + 3} = \overbrace{4 + \dots + 11} = \overbrace{12 + 13}.$$

(a) The first transition is on this wise:

ἀπὸ δ' αὐτὸν ἐγὼ Μοίσασι δώσω
καὶ τὸ πάγχρυσον νάκος κριοῦ· μετὰ γὰρ
κέينو πλευσάντων Μινῶν, θεόπομποί σφισιν τιμαὶ φύτευθεν.
strophe 4
τίς γὰρ ἀρχὴ ῥ' ἐδέξατο ναυτιλίας; κ.τ.λ.

(b) We are prepared for the end of the myth and the approach of the third part by the first words of the 11th epode (*μακρά μοι νεῖσθαι κατ' ἀμαξιτόν κ.τ.λ.*). The end of the legend, rapidly told, runs over into the 12th strophe, where it loses itself in the early history of Cyrene.

The result of this investigation is that the avoidance of abrupt transitions is a distinct feature of Pindar's art, and that this feature tends to disguise the agreement which really exists between the metre-groups and the subject-groups (if I may be permitted to use these expressions) of his odes. There are a few cases in which the clefts of metre are not bridged over by a close connexion of grammar or sense; but they are few, and mostly designed to produce a special effect. There are only two cases where no cause for the abruptness is apparent, in (1) the Sixth Nemean and (2) the Ninth Pythian; and even of these the second possibly admits of explanation.

The strange expression which Pindar uses of his own improvements in art, *νεοσίγαλον εἰρόντι τρόπον* (*Ol.* III. 4), may allude partly to his smooth transitions. In any case it is a metaphor from the craft of the mason or the carpenter, not from the craft of the sculptor; for words in the context show that the construction of the hymn is compared to the building of a house.

Θήρωνος Ὀλυμπιονίκαν ὕμνον ὀρθώσας, ἀκαμαντοπόδων
ἔππων ἄτων. Μοῖσα δ' οὕτω ποι παρέστα μοι νεοσίγαλον εἰρόντι τρόπον

.....

ἐπεὶ...στέφανοι

πράσσοντί με τοῦτο θεόδματον χρέος,
φόρμιγγά τε ποικιλόγαρυν καὶ βοὰν αὐλῶν ἐπέων τε θέσιν (laying of words)
.....συμμῖξαι πρεπόντως.

The adjective *σιγαλόεις* is used in Homer of *ὑπερώια* as well as of seats (*θρόνος*), reins, linen garments &c.; and *νεοσίγαλος* suggests the high polish, obtained by new methods, of the chambers of Pindar's palaces.

In conclusion I must briefly notice the monostrophic Odes, intended to be sung in procession. They are built on the same principles as the stasima. The strophe takes the place of the system. Thus the Twelfth Pythian, consisting of 4 strophes, is constructed in the same way as the Tenth Pythian which consists of 4 systems. The 2nd and 3rd strophes containing the myth hang closely together. A relative pronoun connects the 2nd strophe with the 1st, while there is grammatical continuity between the 3rd and 4th. The Eighth Isthmian (to Clean-

dros of Aegina), consisting of seven strophes, is similarly constructed ($\overbrace{1+2=3+4+5+6=7}$), and the transitions are equally smooth. The formula of the Second Nemean (5 strophes) is $\overbrace{1+2} \quad \overbrace{3+4+5}$; the central strophe being mythical. The Fourth Nemean has twelve strophes, of which the central six contain the mythical element; (*a*) the first transition is skilful and (*b*) the return from myth-land is formally announced in the end of the 9th strophe. The transitions in the Sixth Pythian ($\overbrace{1+2=3+4+5=6}$) are also smooth. The Ninth Nemean falls into two parts, a mythical and a non-mythical, which meet in the 6th or central strophe. But this poem suggests more than anything else a series of scenes, passing into each other, on a running frieze, like that of the Parthenon cella. And this comparison illustrates the feature of Pindar's art, which it has been the object of this essay to illustrate and emphasize. The metrical systems of the older Odes, typified by the Eleventh Nemean, might be compared to a series of metopes, kept apart by the intervening triglyphs; whereas the Pindaric hymn resembled rather a continuous frieze, without blanks. But it should be remembered that the truest analogy for the Pindaric Ode, and that sanctioned by the artist himself, is the analogy of a house or palace¹.

As to the construction of the strophe itself, it is not my intention to say much. I determined to exclude from this edition the abstruse and repulsive subject of 'colometry', for I could not find that it contributed to the comprehension of Pindar's meaning or that it gave much assistance towards the enjoyment of his rhythms. But I have taken advantage of Dr M. Schmidt's studies on the *Strophenbau* of the Pindaric Ode (which indeed involve the rejection of colometry) and I have incorporated his results in the metrical analysis of each hymn. It seemed quite unnecessary to give any account of the new methods of treating Greek metres, of which J. H. H. Schmidt has been the chief exponent. The mysteries of irrational syllables, cyclic dactyls, syncope, *μακραὶ τρίσημοι* &c. have been familiar to English students

¹ It is unnecessary to introduce into this discussion the four short Odes of one system (*Olymp.* IV., X., XII. and *Pyth.* VII.) or the Fourteenth Olympian which consists of two strophes. I have omitted the Fifth Olympian from my list of hymns

of three systems, as I have been unable to satisfy myself that it is the work of Pindar. As for the *Third* 'Isthmian', see my paper in *Hermathena*, vol. XVI., 1890.

since the publication of Professor Jebb's *Oedipus Rex*. The subject has also been treated, in special reference to Pindar, in Mr Gildersleeve's edition of the Olympian and Pythian Odes.

The symmetrical arrangements of *μεγέθη*, or groups of feet, which M. Schmidt has discovered in the strophes and epodes, seem to me superior to the analyses of J. H. H. Schmidt and Westphal. Occasionally these constructions compass or conduce to an aesthetic effect; as for example in the first epode of the Eleventh Nemean

- (A) ἄνδρα δ' ἐγὼ μακαρίζω μὲν πατέρ' Ἀρκεσίλαν,
καὶ τὸ θαητὸν δέμας ἀτρεμίαν τε ξύγονον.
(A') εἰ δέ τις ὄλβον ἔχων μορφῇ περαμεύσεται ἄλλων,
ἐν τ' ἀέθλοισιν ἀριστεύων ἐπέδειξεν βίαν.
(B) θνατὰ μεμνάσθω περιστέλλων μέλη
καὶ τελευτὰν ἀπάντων γὰρ ἐπιεσσόμενος.

Here the structure is epodic. Upon the two parts A and A' (corresponding in the number and character of their feet), which describe the advantages of the man who is deemed happy, supervenes an epode (B), metrically dissimilar, with the suggestion of death supervening on the fair things of life. Thus the metrical structure deepens the effect of the words,—they have almost the sound of a knell. That the effect might have been deepened still more by the accompanying music, we can well imagine.

3. *The Text.*

The most important mss. for the text of the Nemean and Isthmian Odes are the Vatican B (of the 12th century) and the Medicean D (B). Unfortunately the Ambrosian (A), which has preserved some important variants, contains only the first twelve Olympian hymns. All the mss.¹ of Pindar are derived from a single archetype; and there are considerations which show that this archetype was of late date. The principles adopted by its author in arranging the verses set at defiance the metrical doctrines of the Alexandrine grammarians, and betray complete ignorance of the studies of Aristophanes in the field of lyric poetry. Hence Christ deduces that this lost ms. was written long after the days of Alexandrine learning.

It is a matter of importance for the purposes of textual criticism to reach some conclusion as to the comparative values of the fountain of our mss. and the Pindaric scholia. It is generally confessed that some German scholars have gone to unwarranted extremes in eliciting emendations from the scholia; but even judicious editors have, in my opinion, given them undue weight. These scholia are founded on a Pindaric commentary composed by Didymus, who lived about the Christian aera; but citations from the grammarian Herodian prove that they were compiled at a time subsequent to the middle of the

¹ Of less importance are B (Augustanus C) and B (Augustanus E²). Besides these, mss. contain *Nem.* I., II., III. and IV. ll. 1—68: namely V (Parisinus A), X Estensis B, X (Estensis A), these two also containing *Nem.* VI. 34—44; also X (Par. D), Y (Venetus D). Moreover Z (Vindobon. D¹) has *Nem.* I.—III., T (Vat. C) and U (Vindob. A) have *Nem.* I., II. and Z (Aug. D²) has *Nem.* I. 1—40.

The Byzantine mss. of Moschopoulos and Triclinius are spoiled by the bad

'emendations' of these students of the 15th century, and have little value; sometimes however they have a reading which deviates from the old mss. and rests perhaps on some lost scholium. Thus in *Ol.* VI. 83, α μ' ἐθέλοντα προσέλκει is found in the *libri Tricliniani*, while the best mss. have προσέρπει. (Two mss. have προσέλκοι, and the scholium on 142 has the explanation: προσάγει, παροξύνει καὶ αὐτὸν με θέλοντα, while in that on 144 we find ἔλκεται με ἡ Μετώπη.)

second century A.D. It is likely enough that they are considerably earlier than the archetype of our MSS.; but there is no definite proof of this. I certainly cannot attribute much value to the argument of Christ, based on *Pythian* xi. 42. In this passage all the MSS. except one have

Μοῖσα, τὸ δ' ἑτεόν, εἰ μισθῷ συνέθεν παρέχειν
42 φῶναν ὑπάργυρον ἄλλοτ' ἄλλα χρή ταρασσέμεν κ.τ.λ.

(P, a Heidelberg MS., has τὸ δὲ τεόν). The metre in l. 42 requires the omission of χρή (and the restoration of ἀλλῇ or ἄλλῃ for ἄλλα), and this correction is confirmed by the scholion: ἀντὶ τοῦ τάρασσε καὶ μετάφερε· λείπει τὸ ὀφείλεις. Thus the scholiast used a text, which had not been corrupted by the insertion of χρή, and Christ infers that our archetype is more recent than the scholia. Possibly; but, on the other hand, it may be shown that our MSS. are sometimes free from corruptions which beset the text of the scholiast. There is a remarkable example in *Olympian* vi. 97, which has hitherto escaped notice. The MSS. have

ἄδυλόγοι δέ νιν
λίραι μολπαί τε γινώσκοντι.

On this the scholiast has the following comment: λέγονται αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀργάνων πνοαί· ὁ δὲ λόγος· αἱ δὲ ἡδυλόγοι αὐτὸν πνοαὶ τῶν ὀργάνων καὶ ψοαὶ γνωρίζουσιν.

It is perfectly clear that this is not an explanation of λίραι, which required no explanation. Bergk recognised this, but he was wrong in his conclusion that the scholiast read πνοαί, and he was not judicious in expelling λίραι from the text in favour of πνοαί. It is manifestly an instance of the confusion of Λ and Α. The scholiast found in his text ΑΥΡΑΙ and naturally interpreted it by πνοαί, whereas our archetype preserved the genuine reading ΛΥΡΑΙ. This is a case in which the MSS. have the best of it.

In most cases however there is little or nothing to choose between the MSS. and the scholia. The archetype and the text of the scholiast seem to have been very much alike; indeed, we might conjecture that both were derived from a common original, exhibiting all the most serious corruptions which disfigure our MSS. I am unable, for example, to ascribe any value to the note preserved in the Medicean on *Nemean* x. 74, a note on which Mommsen bases an emendation. (See note on that passage.)

Although the text of Pindar, compared with that of his contemporary

Aeschylus, has been well preserved, there are many passages which obviously demand correction. In dealing with such passages my first principle has been that no conjecture is of the slightest critical value unless it explains the origin of the corruption, which it claims to heal. And a mere vague resemblance in the *ductus litterarum* of two words is not enough to show that one could have taken the place of the other. If we adhere strictly to this principle, there is some chance of setting textual criticism on a scientific basis; but far the larger number of the 'emendations' proposed every day in philological journals and new editions are condemned at once, when tried by this standard.

In the Nemean Odes we find instances of most of the well-known causes of corruption. For example, in vii. 68 there is an instance of a false division of words; ἄν ἐρεῖ has taken the place of ἀρερεῖ. Similarity of adjacent syllables has led to errors in many places. Thus in iv. 91 ἄν τις ἰση became ἄν τις ῆ, and was afterwards emended to ἄν τις τύχη. But perhaps the most fertile source of corruption is the occurrence of strange words and unusual forms. That *frit*, restored by Mr Ellis in the *Mostellaria*, should have suffered corruption may be regarded as inevitable. Such a word as τόργος, occurring in a tragedian, was a trap for the ignorance of a late scribe. The forms ἐτόν, ἐτάν, which Bergk has brilliantly restored in some passages of Pindar¹, could not fail to become τόν and τάν. Sometimes rare words were explained by a marginal gloss, and in these cases the gloss often insinuated itself into the text. Thus in *Nem.* vi. 52 and *Nem.* x. 60 ἀκᾶ was ousted by its explanation αἰχμᾶ at the expense of the metre. In *Pyth.* v. 31 we read ὕδατι (Κασταλίας) where the metre rather demands² — — or — ∪ (whence ἑγῶ and κράνα have been proposed). It seems probable that ὕδατι was a gloss on ὕδει, a form found in Hesiod, which Pindar may well have used. In many cases the change of a letter transformed a rare into a familiar word, and of such 'emendations' on the part of copyists there are, if I am right, three instances in the First Nemean (l. 45 χρόνος for χρώμος, l. 48 βέλος for πέλος, l. 66 δώσειν for πώσειν). It is often impossible to know whether a corruption is due to the usurpation of a gloss or to a deliberate alteration; as in *Nem.* vii. 37, where, according to my view, πλαγέντες became πλαγχθέντες.

In the case of Pindar, we are in a better position to deal with corruptions in the text than in the case of most ancient authors; for he often assists us himself in restoring the genuine reading. I refer to the systems of verbal echoes and responsions which render us so much

¹ See *Nem.* vii. 25.

² The tribrach however is quite possibly right

help in following his trains of thought. I may first direct attention to an instance in which a responson confirms the reading of our MSS. as against a reading found in Plutarch. In *Nem.* iv. 4,

οὐδὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ τόσον γε μαλθακὰ τεύχει.

Plutarch (*de tranquillitate*, 6) read τέγγει. But in the corresponding line of the 11th strophe we find τεύχει in the same metrical position,

ἐργμάτων βασιλεῦσιν ἰσοδαίμονα τεύχει.

Instances in which this principle has guided me in restorations of the text will be found in *Λῆμ.* iv. 68 (ἐξέφαναν), vi. 50 (φᾶνε), viii. 40, x. 41, &c.

There is a remarkable case in the Tenth Pythian which will serve to illustrate the principle. We read there of the Hyperboreans (31 sqq.):

παρ' οἷς ποτε Περσεὺς ἐδαίσατο λαγέτας
 δώματ' ἐσελθὼν,
 κλειτὰς ὄνων ἐκατόμβας ἐπιτόσσαις θεῶ,
 ῥέζοντας· ὧν θαλίαις ἔμπεδον
 εὐφαιμίαις τε μάλιστ' Ἀπόλλων
 χαίρει γελᾷ θ' ὄρων ὕβριν ὀρθίαν κνωδάλων.
 Μοῖσα δ' οὐκ ἀποδαμεί
 τρόποις ἐπὶ σφετέροισι· παντᾷ δὲ χοροὶ παρθένων
 λυρᾶν τε βοαὶ καναχαί τ' αὐλῶν δονέονται·
 δάφνη τε χρυσέα κόμας ἀναδήσαντες εἰλαπινάζουσιν εὐφρόνως.

The difficulty in this passage is *τρόποις* which yields no meaning (as Bergk says, *plane alienum vocabulum*). Now when we turn to the last system of the hymn, we find a parallel worked out between the festival of the Hyperboreans in honour of Apollo, and the festival which celebrated the success of the victor Hippocles at Apollo's Pythian games. In the first place there is a play on the name Hippocles: the 3rd line of the 4th strophe

τὸν Ἰπποκλέαν ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον σὺν αἰοδαῖς

echoes the 3rd line of the 2nd epode

κλειτὰς ὄνων ἐκατόμβας.

The glory of asses was a feature at the mythical feast; the glory of horses is an omen, at least, at the victor's feast. In both celebrations the presence of *maidens* is a feature: cf. l. 59

νέαισιν τε παρθένοισι μέλημα.

In l. 64 the poet proceeds thus :

πέποιθα ξειία προσανεΐ Θώρακος ὅσπερ ἐμὰν ποιπινύων χάριν
τόδ' ἔξενξεν ἄρμα Πιερίδων τετράορον
φιλέων φιλέοντ', ἄγων ἄγοντα προφρόνως.

67 πειωῶντι δὲ καὶ χρυσὸς ἐν βασάνῳ πρέπει
καὶ νόος ὀρθός.

There are four echoes here of the revels in the far north. Πιερίδων corresponds to Μοῖσα, προφρόνως recalls εὐφρόνως, χρυσός echoes χρυσέα, and ὀρθός explains the point of ὀρθίαν. The golden laurel, with which the Hyperboreans bound their hair and with which the victor has recently bound his, is an emblem, compared to the most precious of the metals; and the victor's horse-name, suggesting the ὀρθία ὕβρις κνωδάλων, is an omen of νόος ὀρθός.

It is now an easy matter to restore the genuine word which was replaced by τρόποις. This cluster of four verbal responsions was originally a cluster of five. I have no doubt that Pindar wrote

πρόποις ἐπὶ σφετέρουσι

and echoed it in ἐν βασάνῳ πρέπει (l. 67). πρόπος is formed from πρέπω as τρόπος from τρέπω; the *ablaut* (to use the technical expression) has been preserved in θεοπρόπος, θεοπροπέω, and in the gloss ἄπροπον· ἄτροπον, ἀπρεπές in Hesychius. We may render *at their solemnities* or *at their rites*. πρέπειν¹ means 'to be due'; πρεπόντως = *rite*; so that πρόποι would mean *ritus*, 'rites'. I need not add that a strange word like πρόποις was doomed to be corrupted; and the most natural corruption was τρόποις.

This restoration in the Tenth Pythian suggests a discussion of a general question, connected with the art or science of textual criticism, which has assumed considerable importance within the last ten years. Some scholars do not hesitate to introduce into Greek texts words which are not to be found in the dictionary. Others condemn such a procedure as unjustifiable without qualification. It may occur to an impartial observer, who wishes to preserve the due mean between excessive caution and rashness, that there is probably some reason on both sides. The question, certainly, deserves to be fully argued out.

Our texts of the Greek poets, as they stand, present us with a considerable number of rare words and ἀπαξ εἰρημένα. No one could

¹ πρέπειν implies the idea of solemnity; cf. *Agamemnon*, 30 ὡς ὁ φρυκτὸς ἀγγέλλων πρέπει, *as the beacon solemnly or duly announces*; *Choephori* 11 φάρεσιν μελαγ-

χίμοις πρέπουσα, *in robes of solemn black* (cp. Shakespeare's 'customary suit of solemn black').

fairly object to an editor making use of one of these to correct a corrupt passage.

Let us go a step further. In the great body of lyric poetry and in the numerous tragedies which have perished, many words occurred which do not happen to occur in the extant remains of the contemporary literature. But all these words are not lost. Some have been preserved by the Alexandrine writers, especially by Lycophron: others by the compilers of glossaries, like Hesychius. Lycophron is a great store-house of strange words, which he culled from older literature—from the dramatists, and from the lyric poets. We meet in the *Alexandra* many a word, which is found isolated in one passage in tragedy. A student of the Greek tragedies is thoroughly justified in regarding Lycophron's vocabulary as available for purposes of emendation.

The use of the lexicons of Hesychius, Suidas, &c., takes us a step further still. These compilers preserve many words of whose existence we should otherwise be ignorant. Suppose a corrupt passage in which one of these words would restore perfect sense and satisfy the conditions of the critical problem, would it be reasonable to reject the restoration because it so happens that the word does not occur in our extant literature? There are many who would not scruple to restore in Euripides a word which our mss. have only once preserved in tragedy, and yet would hesitate to admit a word vouched for by Callimachus or Lycophron. There are others who would swallow Lycophron but strain at Hesychius. The reason for this distinction is that the Alexandrine writers are nearer in time to the older classical writers; whereas the glossaries are late and it cannot be proved, in the large majority of instances, that any given gloss actually occurred in an early Greek poet. The distinction is certainly valid, but it would be a false inference that would lead us to discard the assistance of the glossaries. It is a question of a degree of probability. Let us suppose two corrupt passages. Let us suppose that in one of these the demands of the sense are perfectly satisfied by the restoration of a word whose existence is vouched for by Hesychius: and that the other can be perfectly healed, as far as the meaning is concerned, by the restoration of a word whose literary use is proved by its occurring in Callimachus or Lycophron. If we were told nothing more of the two cases, we should be justified in saying that the second restoration had a higher degree of probability than the first. But if we learned then that critical considerations founded on the indications of the mss. pointed with much more cogency to the Hesychian word than similar considerations, in the second case, pointed to the Alexandrine word, we should be compelled to acknow-

ledge that the comparative probabilities were equalised or perhaps that the first emendation was even more convincing than the second.

The next step is the restoration of a word, which is of irreproachable form, but does not happen to have been preserved in our extant literature, as transmitted to us through a period of twenty centuries. Many scholars demur to such conjectures without any reservation, and consider them in all cases unjustifiable. But these objectors will nevertheless admit that numerous words were used by Greek men of letters (especially by poets), which have not been preserved. Even as it is, there are many ἄπαξ εἰρημένα, that is, rare words; and it would be absurd to suppose that there were not many others. They will also have to admit that some of these words *may* have been used in passages which have become corrupted in the course of transmission. And this possibility forces itself seriously upon the attention, when we consider that unusual words were the words, of all others, most exposed to corruption, whether through conscious correction, unconscious mis-copying, or the intrusion of a gloss.

Now it is important to draw a distinction between two kinds of strange words, (1) words whose existence at some time or other is presupposed by actually existent forms; (2) words whose existence is not thus presupposed, but which, being formed on correct analogy, may have been in use. It is clear that these two classes do not stand on the same level. Let us take them in order.

(1) Suppose two passages, *a* and *b*, which require correction. In *a* a strange word is introduced which harmonises with the context admirably and is palaeographically a sound emendation. This strange word is found in Hesychius. In *b* a strange word is also introduced, equally sound from a critical point of view, and equally suitable in meaning. This word is not found in Hesychius or elsewhere, but not only is it of unimpeachable formation but its existence is presupposed by cognate words in actual use. It is clear that *ceteris paribus* the emendation of *a* is more probable than the emendation of *b*. We know that both words existed; but the occurrence of the first in the glossary of Hesychius certifies us that it was a word which probably was used in literature, whereas it might be urged that the second may have fallen out of use at such an ancient date that it was unknown in the age of the earliest Greek literature. Nevertheless it is obvious that cases are conceivable in which the immediate data would point so strongly to the restoration of a word of this kind that there could be little doubt as to its correctness. Perhaps an illustration from English literature will put this in a clearer light. Let us suppose that Tennyson's *Locksley Hall* is

transmitted to distant posterity in two MSS. In one of these (A) the following line occurs :

In the spring a livelier rainbow changes on the burnish'd dove,
while in the other (B) there is an obvious corruption,

In the spring a livelier is changes on the burnish'd dove.

It is clear that the first reading, though it scans and is intelligible, does not account for the corruption in the second. Let us suppose that the critic has at his disposal only a comparatively small part of the entire body of English literature ; and let us further suppose that in that extant part the word *iridescent* happens to occur, but not *iris*. *Iridescent* consequently is recognised in his English lexicon ; and he has sufficient philological knowledge to know that *iris* is presupposed by *iridescent*. Would he not, then, be amply justified in reading

In the spring a livelier iris changes on the burnish'd dove—?

The variants are thus completely accounted for. *Rainbow* was merely a gloss on *iris* ; while the corruption in B arose from the omission of one of two similar syllables

livel^eiris.

But we cannot expect many cases so clear as this. In most cases of this kind we must admit that the emendation would gain in probability if the word had more than an etymological certification. In other words, such emendations must be for the most part labelled 'possible' and await accident to verify or condemn them. But at the same time they are thoroughly justifiable, and may often pass into the region of high probability, *b* becoming as probable as *a* under favourable circumstances.

As an example of a word, certified by etymology, I may refer to a passage in the *Choephori*, 61 sqq.

ῥοπή δ' ἐπισκοπεῖ δίκαν
ταχεῖα τοῖς μὲν ἐν φάει
τὰ δ' ἐν μεταιχμύῳ σκότου
64 μένει χρονίζοντ' ἄχῃ βρύει
τοὺς δ' ἄκρατος ἔχει νύξ.

ἄχῃ and βρύει cannot stand together in l. 64 for the metre demands words equivalent in quantity to

μένει χρονίζοντᾱ βρύει.

It seems clear that ἄχῃ is a gloss on τὰ δ' and that βρύει is a corruption of a substantive in the dative case agreeing with μεταιχμύῳ. I believe

that the word whose place has been usurped was βρυχί. βρύξ is presupposed by βρύχιος, ὑποβρύχιος, as surely as χθών is presupposed by χθόνιος, ἐπιχθόνιος. In fact, ὑποβρύχιος is simply ὑπὸ βρυχί affected with an adjectival termination. The picture is a twilight sea between the coasts of darkness and light. The slight change of βρυχί to βρύει was facilitated by the actual occurrence of βρύει a few lines below.

This conjecture can only lay claim to possibility. But if there had chanced to be an explanatory gloss, ἀλί, or βυσσῶ, or something of the kind, then it might fairly be regarded as highly probable.

(2) The case is different when etymology does not demand the assumption of a lost word, but only acquiesces in a legitimate formation. Here it must be admitted that the word may not have existed, and if the only sign of its existence is an inference from a corrupt passage, the emendation which assumes it must be regarded as extremely doubtful, though no one can deny that it is possible.

But it is conceivable that other considerations might intervene which might raise this possibility into a probability; and such considerations would of course apply to (1) as well as to (2). There might be a confirmation of a strange word as cogent as a gloss in Suidas if not more cogent. I may illustrate this from a passage in the First Nemean. In l. 48 we read

ἐκ δ' ἄρ' ἄτλατον δέος†
πλάξε γυναῖκας,

where the mss. vary between δέος and βέλος. In the note on this passage I have shown that neither of these variants can be right and I have ventured to restore πέλος, a word of unexceptionable formation, whose existence is recognised by Hesychius. I need hardly say that it was the conditions of the problem, not a knowledge of the Hesychian gloss, that suggested this emendation. Now if I had not found this word in Hesychius or anywhere else, I should not have been able to consider the correction highly probable; I should only have been entitled to regard it as possible. The circumstance that Theocritus uses the word πελώρια in his description of the battle with the snakes might be adduced to bring the conjecture a degree nearer probability. But let us suppose, now, that in some other strophe of the ode we found a series of verbal echoes, answering to the passage under consideration, in accordance with Pindar's method, and let us suppose that among these echoes the word πέλορ or πελώριον occurred; in that case we should have a confirmation of the conjecture πέλος, rendering it not only quite as probable as if the word were found in Hesychius (as *ex hypothesi* it is not), but even more probable. An Hesychian gloss

proves the existence of a word, but not its use in a particular passage ; in the hypothetical case the use of πέλος in the particular passage is indicated.—These are the principles on which I would defend the emendation πρόποις in the Tenth Pythian.

I have attempted to deal with this vexed question as generally as possible, but it is obvious that general conclusions will require modification in any particular instance. Special groups of hypothetical words, such as strange compounds (like Mr Tucker's λινοσινεῖ in the *Supplices* of Aeschylus) or strange parts of verbs in ordinary use, demand special consideration ; and it is clear that different minds will always estimate differently the amount of evidence required to render probable a conjecture of the kind here discussed.

ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΕΜΕΟΝΙΚΑΙΣ.

NEMEAN I.

ODE IN HONOUR OF A VICTORY WON AT NEMEA
BY THE HORSES OF CHROMIUS OF SYRACUSE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE ideal of successful labour on a grand scale is continually kept before us in the poems of Pindar. The mythical type of this ideal was the son of a god—Heracles, the deliverer of the Greek world, who, having lived laborious days and gratified the lusts of the flesh, was in the end elevated to heaven, to crown a splendid life by a marriage with immortal Youth. Pindar certainly clave unto Heracles. He often praises the qualities of his patrons by suggesting points of comparison with the hero of the twelve, and other, labours, whose Theban birth supplied a special ground of interest to a Theban poet; and the legend that this son of Zeus instituted the Olympic games¹ rendered frequent mention of him in odes of victory a matter of course.

For such a comparison with Heracles was selected a Sicilian noble, a friend of king Hiero and conspicuous at the Syracusan court. On the occasion of a victory won in a chariot race at Nemea, Chromius² employed

¹ The tale of the early institution of these games by Heracles and by Iphitus was invented when in comparatively later days the Olympic festival had won a Panhellenic repute. In Homeric days the Olympic games, if they existed, must have been insignificant and local. The games described in the 23rd Book of the Iliad are quite unlike the Olympic, as Mr Mahaffy

observed in his paper on the Olympic register in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 1.

² He belonged to the tribe of the Hylleis. He is also celebrated in the Ninth 'Nemean', which Boeckh and Dissen are certainly right in assigning to a later date than the present Ode. As the epithet νεοκρίσταυ is applied to Aetna

Pindar to write an epinician hymn, and invited the poet to his house at Syracuse, where an unusually rich hospitality was dispensed. Chromius had been always a fighter. He had played a prominent part in the vicissitudes which attended the rise and continuance of Gelon's power; he had fought bravely in battles by land and sea¹. He was certainly one of those who had laboured on a distinguished scale, and might without absurdity be likened, in the exaggerating language of art, to Heracles.

But the incident in the life of Heracles, which Pindar has chosen to portray at length, in this Nemean Ode,—the infant throttling the serpents,—seems a somewhat strange parable to speak to a Nemean victor, and it puzzled the curiosity of ancient readers. To attempt to resolve this enigma, we must analyse the hymn².

At Syracuse, in the place where the fountain of Ortygia reminds the visitor of that 'lovely' nymph and of her lover the river Alpheus and of Olympia overseas, the hymn first sets our thoughts, as in a divine retreat; and then proceeds to comply with the usual formalities of an epinician song. The god, at whose games the victory was won, the kind and the place of the contest, the name of the victor, are indicated in the lofty, somewhat indirect language, which Pindar wields with a peculiar grace and never discards.

This is the foundation of the building, secured with divine names³. Then reflecting that great contests are a grateful theme for poets, Pindar goes on to praise the victor's country, and tells how long ago Zeus promised to Persephone that he would exalt the cities of Sicily, and how he fulfilled this promise, and blessed the island with a nation of horsemen and warriors, and granted them the boast of winning not a few Olympic crowns.

It is evident that this shower of grace (*ἀγλαΐα*), which is flung over Sicily, is intended for Chromius, one of her typical children, a wooer of brazen war, and one whose horses had won a conspicuous, though not an Olympic, victory. And the reference to the 'golden leaves of Olympic olives' supplies us with a clue to the meaning of the whole hymn. As long as those golden leaves had never shone on his brow, Chromius had not won the highest attainable glory in his brilliant world, he was not quite the ideal Sicilian lord. Well, Pindar holds out to him the prospect of this glory,

in the Ninth 'Nemean', and as Aetna was founded in 475, we can hardly assign a later date to Nemean I. than 472 B.C., in which year Nemean games were celebrated. As Pindar probably went to Sicily in 473, an earlier date is also excluded.

¹ Especially at Helorus; see Nemean IX. and Introduction to that Ode.

² Mezger, applying the nomenclature of the Terpandric nomos, divides as follows: 1—7 ἀρχά; 8—12 κατατροπά; 13—20 ὀμφαλός; 31—33 μετακατατροπά; 33—72

σφραγίς.

The σφραγίς has such a disproportionate length that one is forced to suspect the whole arrangement. An ὀμφαλός, extending from l. 13 to l. 20 in a poem of 72 lines, is not an ὀμφαλός in any legitimate sense.

³ Zeus is named Aetnean (l. 6), as in *Ol.* VI. 96; but this does not give the least support to the extraordinary notion of Welcker that the poem is a glorification of Aetna, that newly-founded city being compared to the infant Heracles.

not directly, but, as we shall see hereafter, covertly. And this motive too, prompted the artist at the outset to place our thoughts in a spot where the reputed waters of the Alpheus should remind us of Olympia.

We enter the hospitable home of Chromius, filled with strangers; and the poet stands at the door of the great hall, 'singing a beautiful strain'—

ἔσταν δ' ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις
ἀνδρὸς φιλοξείνου καλὰ μελπόμενος.

The house in Ortygia is accustomed to the faces of strangers; and this note of Chromius' liberality surprises the poet into remarking that envy has been thwarted or crushed, and that arts or artifices have been foiled by the straightforwardness of nature. Chromius has good friends to support him against detractors, friends ready to whelm the smoke as with water; for smoke, insinuating and noxious, seemed to the Greeks a fitting symbol of envy.

The connexion of ideas in this strophe, and the significance for Chromius of the persons mentioned—Pindar himself, the strangers (ἀλλοδαπῶν), and the detractors—is not made clear to us (though doubtless Chromius and his friends readily apprehended it) until we read the passage in the light of a later portion of the hymn¹. The last line of the strophe contrasts the arts of his enemies with the 'plainness and clearness' of Chromius, who opposes the virtue of nature, φύα, to the tricks of art. '*Arts vary; but it is meet, walking in straight paths, to oppose them by the quality of nature.*'

The opposition of art and genius is a favourite theme; Pindar was no friend of rhetoric reduced to rules. And in the present passage, too, he is thinking of his own rivals, as well as of the adversaries of Chromius; and he reveals this thought in the following antistrophos;

26 πράσσει γὰρ ἔργῳ μὲν σθένος
27 βουλαῖσι δὲ φρὴν ἐσόμενον προιδεῖν
28 συγγενὲς οἷς ἔπεται.

In these words (see note on l. 26) Chromius (l. 26) and Pindar (27, 28) are designated, as endowed with two forms of φύα, respectively, practical and intellectual; and it is noteworthy that the intellectual faculty is specialised as the power of foreseeing future events. We shall learn hereafter the significance of these words².

The circumstance that Chromius conducted his house at Syracuse with lavish expenditure, not hoarding his wealth, but using it with unwithdrawing hand for the joyance of life and the solace of his friends, seems to have given occasion to illwishers to say unkind things about him. At least Pindar here makes an emphatic apology for the uses to which 'the son of Agesidamus' put the gifts of fortune, and justifies the indulgence of oneself and one's friends in the pleasant things of life by a reflection on the vicissitudes incident to mortal frailty; '*for to all alike come the hopes and fears which beset toiling men*'.

¹ See below, p. 5.

² See below, p. 6.

'Toiling men,' πολυπόνων ἀνδρῶν,—that is the key-note, here sounding loudly at the beginning of the epode. It closes the first part of the hymn which treats directly of Chromius, and introduces the second, somewhat longer, half, in which the tale of Heracles, the great toiler of legend, is told¹.

The lines which introduce the myth have two indications that it is directly applicable to Chromius.

ἐγὼ δ' Ἡρακλέος ἀντέχομαι προφρόνως
ἐν κορυφαῖς ἀρετῶν μεγάλαις ἀρχαῖον ὀτρύνων λόγον,

'In the world of great towering excellencies, I am fain to cleave fast to Heracles, stirring an ancient story,' *how* &c. Two words here, κορυφαῖς and ὀτρύνων, are echoes, recalling the 'towering' cities wherewith Zeus promised to enrich Sicily,

(l. 15 κορυφαῖς πολίων ἀφνεαῖς),

and the 'stirring' of Pindar to sing the praises of Chromius,

(l. 7 ἄρμα δ' ὀτρύνει Χρομίον κ.τ.λ.).

The birth of Heracles is described in significant words; *he came forth into a marvellous brilliant light, θαητὴν ἐς αἴγλαν, this son of Zeus*. These words remind us that Chromius was born in a land already *brilliant*, the gift of Zeus to Persephone, whereof it was said before

σπεῖρέ νιν ἀγλαΐαν τινὰ νάσφ (l. 13).

The mission of the serpents by Here, their coming through an open gate to the bower of Alcmene, their approach to the children, and the strangling in the hands of Heracles, are set forth in a series of brief and vivid pictures. Then we see the women stricken with horror, and the mother leaping from her bed to protect her infants. Presently arrive Cadmean nobles in bronze armour, and Amphitryon himself, brandishing a naked sword, in deep distress, as the messengers had brought tidings that the serpents had slain the children. He stands at the door of his wife's chamber, in 'a notable passion of wonder,' seeing the proof of the miraculous strength of his reputed son and the tale of the messengers reversed. Then he sends for the seer Tiresias, who prophesies the future prowess and the apotheosis of the wonderful child.

As to the import of this story², Pindar supplies us with clues, and

¹ In the scholia on l. 33 various ancient theories as to the application of the myth are mentioned. Of these I need only call attention to that of Didymus, who supposes that as Heracles' first achievement was an emblem of future exploits, so this Nemean victory of Chromius is designated by Pindar as the first of a long series to come—προμαντεύεται ὅτι καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν στεφάνων τεύχεται.

² This is a suitable place to state

Mezger's view of the Ode. 'Der Mythos von Herakles soll also zeigen, dass alle Menschen mit Mühen zu kämpfen haben ...und wie man über diese Herr wird. Die Ausführung schliesst sich eng an den Gedankengang des ὀμφαλός an.' In the ὀμφαλός there are three ideas: (1) the promise of Zeus to give Sicily a victorious people; (2) repulse of calumniators; (3) μάρνασθαι φνῆ. To these correspond in the σφραγὶς three pictures, in chiasmic

especially sets two unmistakable sign-posts, shewing the connexion between the first and second parts of the ode.

The fifth line of the fourth strophe

ἀγγέλων ῥῆσιν θέσαν

responds to the fifth line of the first strophe

ὕμνος ὀρμᾷται θέμεν.

This means that even as the immortals established the prowess of Heracles by reversing the tale of the messengers, so the hymn of victory establishes the prowess of Chromius by reversing (we may read between the lines) the dark prophecies of illwishers.

Again the first line of the fourth strophe,

ἔστα δὲ θάμβει δυσφόρῳ,

responds to the first line of the second strophe,

ἔσταν δ' ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις,

indicating that the part played by Pindar in the drama in Sicily corresponds to the part played by Amphitryon in the drama at Thebes¹. Pindar was moved with concern for his friend Chromius, and with delight at his achievements, as Amphitryon was moved for his 'son' Heracles. And this gives a clue to the meaning of the second strophe, which puzzled us. Amphitryon, yet ignorant of the event, is sorely distressed :

τὸ γὰρ οἰκτεῖον πιέζει πάνθ' ὁμῶς·
εὐθὺς δ' ἀπήμων κραδία κᾶδος ἀμφ' ἀλλότρινον.

Now we see the position of the strangers ἀλλοδαπῶν, in the hall of Chromius. As strangers, they are external and indifferent to the weal or woe of Chromius, and thus are contrasted with Pindar himself, who, like Amphitryon, feels the fortunes of his friend as something οἰκτεῖον or pertaining to himself.

That the dragons represent enemies who attempted to injure Chromius and were worsted by him, there can be no doubt ; else the myth would have no point. And the emphatic prominence given to the dual number of the beasts in l. 44

δισσαῖσι δοιοὺς ἀνχένων

renders it probable that the foes crushed by Chromius were also a pair. Assuming the correctness of the reading which I have printed in the text, with some confidence, in l. 46

ἀγχομένοις δὲ χρόμος,

order ; (a) the infant Heracles, answering to (1), cf. vv. 25 and 43 ; (b) Amphitryon, beholding his expectations reversed, cf. v. 19 ἔσταν and v. 55 ἔστα ; this corresponds to (2) ; and (c) Tiresias

prophesying the future victories and rewards of Heracles (cf. v. 14 with v. 61) ; this answers to the promise of Zeus.

¹ This responsion was noticed by Mezger, see last note.

we have a special note of the application of the story to the personal history of the victor.

That rivals of Pindar took part in disparaging Chromius is perhaps indicated by the words *παλίγγλωσσον ῥῆσιν ἀγγέλων θέσαν*. The rare adjective *παλίγγλωσσον* may be an allusion to certain pedantic words or *γλώσσαι* which those rivals affected; just as *τέχναι* in l. 25 may be an allusion to their studied rules of art. And perhaps we should not be far astray in interpreting the two snakes as Simonides and his nephew Bacchylides. There is reason to suppose that about the year 474 some intrigue was carried on against Pindar by these two poets, and it may well have been that Chromius, zealously espousing the interests of his friend, foiled their schemes¹.

But Pindar is more to Chromius even than Amphitryon was to Heracles; he is a true prophet as well as a friend, and thus it becomes necessary to supplement Amphitryon by the 'true prophet' Tiresias. And now we understand the reference to the prophetic gift in ll. 27, 28.

The utterance of Tiresias enables us to see still further. He foretells that Heracles is destined to slay many workers of iniquity both on the dry land and on the 'monstrous deep', and declares that he will give a draught of death for drink to those who walk in the ways of crooked envy; he foretells moreover the battle with the giants on the plain of Phlegra. The language in this prophecy is clearly meant to be an answering echo to the words in which Chromius' victory over the envious was described. 'The man who walketh with crooked envy' (64, 65)

σὺν πλαγίῳ—κόρῳ στείχοντα

characterises those cunning detractors, who are opposed² (l. 25) to 'the man who walketh in straight paths',

ἐν εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς στείχοντα.

And as smoke is quenched by water, so the envious are borne down by a draught of death. And again as the Gods 'affront' the Giants, so the good friends of Chromius 'affront' his disparagers—this echo being metrically punctual:

25, *ἀντίον*—beginning the last line of second strophe

68, *ἀντιάξωσιν*—beginning the last line of fourth antistrophe.

¹ Prof. Jebb in his essay on *Pindar* (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, III. p. 163) suggests such an allusion in the First Pythian (474 B.C.). Referring to l. 45 *ἐλπομαι—ἀμεύσασθ' ἀντίους*, and l. 85 *κρέσσων γὰρ οἰκτιροῦ φθόνος* he writes: 'The tone of this and other passages is (to my mind) not that of a jealous man, but of one who is maintaining an attitude of defence against calumny; and it

is difficult to resist the impression that, at this time, Pindar had been the object of some hostile intrigue at Hiero's court, which he associated with the desire of Simonides to advance the fortunes of a young kinsman more distinguished by diligence than by originality'.

² So Mezger, p. 106, but he does not notice the responsion *ἀντίον—ἀντιάξωσιν*.

Moreover the reference to Heracles' victories on 'the dry land' and 'on the sea' might remind Chromius of his own land and sea battles, not indeed expressly referred to in this hymn, but mentioned in another ode written by Pindar in his honour, the Ninth 'Nemean': l. 43,

πολλὰ μὲν ἐν κονίᾳ χέρσῳ, τὰ δὲ γείτονι πόντῳ.

But the vision of Tiresias looks forward still further to the apotheosis of the hero and his marriage with Hebe; and the hymn ends with this vision of a state which we call *bliss*, and the Greeks called *θαντὸς ὕλβος*. '*Moreover he declared that Heracles should win a meed passing rich for his great labours, even an everlasting rest and unbroken peace, in a fortunate habitation; and that having received Hebe, ever-fair, for a bedmate, and having held high nuptial feast, he would be well content with a holy abode in the home of Zeus.*'

Here, and again, as we shall see, in the Tenth 'Nemean', Pindar makes the marriage of Heracles and Hebe the type of supreme happiness; and in both cases the supreme happiness typified is that which an Olympic victory confers. For this is the meaning of the prophecy¹. As Tiresias foretells the winning of an Olympian bride by Heracles, so Pindar foretells the winning of an Olympic wreath by Chromius. Of this signification there are proofs. We find in l. 70 (second line of fourth epode)

ἄσυχίαν καμάτων μεγάλων ποινὰν,

corresponding to

ἐν κορυφαῖς ἀρετᾶν μεγάλαις,

in l. 34 (second line of second epode)². In Pindar's view, the *κορυφαὶ μεγάλαι* for men like Chromius were victories at Olympia; and this is suggested by the occurrence of *κορυφαῖς* in the lines on Sicily, whose people had often felt the touch of 'the golden Olympic olive leaves'.

An artful reminiscence of the first lines of the ode establishes the truth of this interpretation. The note of rest, lightly struck in the suggested picture of Alpheus in the arms of the 'lovely' nymph Ortygia,

ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφειοῦ
κλεινὰν Συρακοσσᾶν θάλαος Ὀρτυγία,

¹ Mezger refers it to 'die schliessliche Aufnahme auf die Inseln der Seligen'. Leopold Schmidt thinks that a reference to a possible marriage of Chromius is intended, which might seem to be confirmed by the circumstance that the gift of Sicily to Persephone, mentioned in an earlier part of the ode, was supposed to be *εἰς ἀνακαλυπτῆρια*. Dissen finds the foretold 'rest' in a *placida vita*: 'Fruitur Chromius ut Hercules post labores ex-

antlatos placida vita ludicrorum certaminum summis coronis ornatus'. I submit that my interpretation alone explains satisfactorily the connexion of the opening and the closing lines of the ode.

² Mezger notices this (p. 111). He also observes that the hymn, beginning with *ἄμπνευμα σεμνόν* closes with *σεμνὸν δόμον*.

NEMEONIKAI A'.

ΧΡΟΜΙΩι ΑΙΤΝΑΙΩι

ΙΠΠΟΙΣ.

"Αμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφειοῦ,
κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν θάλος Ὀρτυγία,

στρ. α'.

1. ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφειοῦ] The choice of ἄμπνευμα is a Pindaric felicity. The word expresses the mythical identity of the fountain Arethusa with a 'spout' of the river Alpheus, and at the same time conveys the poetical application that Alpheus 'rested' in Ortygia after the toil of his journey under seas. ἀνάπνευμα, which is not the same as ἀναπνοή, must mean, according to the analogy of words of like formation, 'that which is exhaled, exhalation, breath respired'; the fountain in Ortygia, with which Ortygia is almost identified, is literally the breath exhaled by Alpheus. We may translate *Breath of the holy rest of Alpheus*. Perhaps σεμνόν suggested the adjective in Milton's

Divine Alpheus, who by secret sluice
Stole under seas to meet his Arethuse.

The legend which connected Alpheus and Arethusa may be a younger form of the legend which connected Alpheus and Artemis. See Roscher's *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, article *Alpheios* by H. W. Stoll.

The huntress nymph Arethusa was loved by the hunter Alpheus, and to avoid his wooing she fled to Ortygia and became a spring. Alpheus, through a sort of sympathetic charm, was transformed into a river, which flowed beneath the sea and united its waters with the spring. Pausanias v. 7, 2. A somewhat

different form is given to the myth in Ovid, *Metam.* v. 752 sqq., where Artemis is introduced as protecting her nymph Arethusa. Under the legendary connexion of Ortygia with Elis lies the fact that Eleans from the neighbourhood of Olympia took part in the colonization of Syracuse and brought with them the cult of Artemis Potamia, who was so widely worshipped in the Peloponnesus (in the neighbourhood of the river Alpheus under the special name of Artemis Ἀλφειαία, Ἀλφειουσα or Ἀλφειωνία).

2. θάλος] There were five parts of Syracuse (Ortygia, Achradina, Neapolis, Epipolae, and Tyche) and θάλος expresses the fact that Ortygia is one of them. But it expresses much more, and is not synonymous with ἔρνος, just as it is not synonymous with βίβα. The notion of bloom is uppermost, and 'branch' is consequently an inadequate rendering; translate *fair branch of glorious Syracuse*. In the last lines of the ode Pindar will come back to the note which he strikes in the opening verses, peace and beauty after labour; even as σεμνὸν σταθμόν (l. 72) recalls ἄμπνευμα σεμνόν, so θαλερὰν Ἥβαν (l. 71) *fair Hebe* recalls θάλος Ὀρτυγία (l. 2). It is worth noticing that when the poet speaks of Libya (*Pyth.* ix. 8) as βίβαν ἀπείρου τρίταν he adds the epithet θάλλοισαν.

δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος,
 Δάλου κασιγνήτα, σέθεν ἄδυεπής
 ὕμνος ὀρμάται θέμεν 5
 αἶνον ἀελλοπόδων μέγαν ἵππων, Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν·
 ἄρμα δ' ὀτρύνει Χρομίου Νεμέα θ' ἔργμασιν νικαφόροις ἐγκώμιον
 ζεύξαι μέλος.

3. δέμνιον Ἀρτέμιδος] *Couch of Artemis*. In the second Pythian Ode (l. 7) Pindar uses the words ποταμίας ἔδος Ἀρτέμιδος, *habitation of Artemis queen of rivers*, of Ortygia. Here he chooses δέμνιον *bed*, to harmonize with the note of rest struck in the first line. Ortygia is a resting-place for Alpheus, for Artemis,—and for Chromius. It is usual to compare Ω 615 where the nymphs are said to have their beds, *εὐνάι*, in Siphylus.

The worship of Artemis as a goddess of rivers, lakes, springs and marshes (ποταμίαι, λιμναῖα, ἐλεία) was widely spread in the Peloponnese, especially in Arcadia; she was a 'Naturgöttin von ähnlichem, nur allgemeinerem Wesen als die Nymphen der Berge, Flüsse und Bäche' (Article *Artemis*, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, p. 560). In Elis she was brought into relation with the river god Alpheus and called after his name. 'At Letrinoi where the Alpheios flows into the sea Artemis Alpheiaia had a temple, and the inhabitants related as cause of its building that Alpheios inflamed with love for Artemis, and unable to attain to his wishes by persuasion or entreaties, resolved to resort to violence; but Artemis smeared the faces of herself and her nymphs with mud at Letrinoi (where she celebrated with them a nocturnal feast) so that Alpheios retired unable to recognise her' (see Pausanias vi. 22, 5). 'According to another legend Alpheios pursued Artemis to the island of Ortygia, where she had a temple as Alpheiaia.' (H. W. Stoll, article *Alpheios*, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, p. 257.)

4. Δάλου κασιγνήτα] *Sister of Delos*,

not literally, but spiritually, as sharing with Delos the favour of Artemis.

σέθεν] *From thee*, the second syllable -θεν having its full ablative force. ὀρμάσθαι could hardly be constructed with the simple genitive.

ἄδυεπής] Used of persons; e.g. ἡδυέπειαι Μοῦσαι, Hes. *Th.* 965; Νέστωρ ἡδυεπής, A 248; ἄδυεπῇ Ὀμηρον, Pind. *Nem.* viii. 21; and of things personified, as here; e.g. *Olymp.* x. 93 ἄδυεπής τε λύρα, Sophocles *O. T.* 151 ἄδυεπὲς φάτι (of the oracle of Apollo). ἄδυεπής ὕμνος is *the hymn that speaketh sweetly* (with the special sense of speaking in verse; ἔπη=verses).

5, 6. θέμεν κ.τ.λ.] *To render high praise to the storm-swift steeds, and to pleasure Aetnean Zeus*. Both Zeus of Aetna (the city afterwards governed by Chromius) and the victorious steeds are honoured by the hymn. χάριν, *a grateful service*, is in apposition with αἶνον and is not to be confounded with its quasi-prepositional use in *Pyth.* iii. 95 (Διὸς χάριν, *by grace of Zeus*) and other places.

θέμεν means to set or establish; but see below note on l. 59. Aetnean Zeus is mentioned in *Olymp.* vi. 96.

7. *But the car of Chromius and Nemea impel me to harness a song of praise for deeds of victory*. The exploits of Chromius are the car to which the song, as a steed, is yoked. In *Pyth.* x. 65 τὸδ' ἐξενξεν ἄρμα Πιερίδων τετράορον, the metaphor is different; the ode is compared to the car of the Muses. It is a characteristic usage of Pindar to apply to the work of the poet expressions appropriate to the exploits which he is celebrating. ἔργμασιν

ἀρχαὶ δὲ βέβληνται θεῶν
κείνου σὺν ἀνδρὸς δαιμονίαις ἀρεταῖς.

ἀντ. α'.

(Β ἔρμασι) is stronger than ἔργοις, and is, as Dissen remarks, 'sollemne apud Pindarum de certaminum labore'. νικαφόροις has a literal signification; Victory rides in the chariot.

8. ἀρχαὶ δὲ βέβληνται θεῶν] The difficulty, which has always been found in these words, is due to the blending of a metaphor with a somewhat uncommon construction. Pindar often conceived his hymns as works of visible art, plastic or architectural, statues or temples; thus in *Pyth.* VII. 4 he speaks of laying the corner-stone of songs, κρητῖδ' αἰοιδᾶν βαλέσθαι, and in the opening lines of *Οἴνυμ.* VI. he works out the metaphor of a palace with some elaboration. Here he only suggests the metaphor by the use of βέβληνται. Why, it may be asked, did he abstain from writing κρητῖς δὲ βέβληνται (as in *Pyth.* VII. 4 and IV. 138) and choose the weaker word ἀρχαί? The answer to this question involves the explanation of ἀρχαὶ θεῶν. ἄρχομαι is the technical word for the opening invocation of a hymn, and is regularly used with the genitive. Thus in I 97

ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω σέο δ' ἄρξομαι,
and in *Nem.* v. 25 (of the Muses) Διὸς ἀρχόμεναι. Somewhat boldly (not however more boldly than Attic prose writers use φόβος and such words with an accusative) Pindar has here transferred to ἀρχαί the construction of ἄρχομαι, and ἀρχαὶ βέβληνται θεῶν is equivalent to ἀρχόμενος θεῶν βάλλομαι κρητῖδα αἰοιδᾶς. Translate, *First hymning the gods, and withal the heroic excellences of that man (Chromius), I have laid a foundation for my song.* It is impossible to give the sense and at the same time preserve the conciseness of the original, as we have no word that conveys to an English ear all that ἀρχή or ἄρχομαι in connexion with a hymn suggested to a Greek ear.

In translating Matthew Arnold's lines
'First hymn they the Father
Of all things;—and then
The rest of immortals,
The action of men'

ἄρχομαι would be the word to use.

It should also be remembered that in the Terpandric nomos the word ἀρχά had a special sense; it was the first chief division of the composition, as distinguished from the ὁμφαλός and σφραγίς.

The gods with whose mention Pindar has 'begun', in the first strophe are Aetnean Zeus, Artemis and the river deity Alpheus. He has united with their names the victory of Chromius, and this union of 'the action of men' with the praise of the immortals might seem to require an explanation. Such an explanation is contained in the epithet δαιμονίαις, *heroic, half-divine*; the δαίμονες being an intermediate class between gods and men, as is clearly stated for example in the *Apology* of Plato.

Other explanations of this passage have been put forward, and even emendations have been proposed. Dissen translates 'initia autem horum factorum jacta sunt a diis una cum viri illius singularibus virtutibus', interpreting ἀρχαὶ θεῶν as '(initia) divina, a diis profecta'. We may confidently hold that the words could not admit this meaning. Mr Fennell's view almost coincides with mine in sense, but not exactly; he takes "the genitive θεῶν as 'κατὰ σύνεσιν', ἀρχαὶ βέβληνται being regarded as equivalent to 'I have begun'". Dawes read θεῶ, and Mingarelli proposed βέβληντ' ἐκ θεῶν, both of which give an inferior sense to the reading of the mss. and are from a critical point of view highly improbable, as no reason for the assumed corruption is apparent.

The note of a scholiast is worth quoting

ἔστι δ' ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ
 πανδοξίας ἄκρον· μεγάλων δ' ἀέθλων
 Μοῖσα μεμνᾶσθαι φιλεῖ.
 σπείρῃ νυν ἀγλαίαν τινὰ νάσῳ, τὰν Ὀλύμπου δεσπότης
 Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν Φερσεφόνα, κατένευσέν τέ Foi χαίταις, ἀριστεύοισαν
 εὐκάρπου χθονὸς

in support of the explanation which I have adopted and which is practically that of von Leutsch and Mezger :

ἀρχαὶ αἱ τοῦ ἐγκωμίου. τοῦτο δὲ λέγει διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ θεοῦ τῆς Ἀρτεμίδος κατῆρχθαι ὥστε ἀρχὰς τὰ προοίμια τῆς ᾠδῆς αὐτὸν λέγειν. ἔθος δὲ Πινδάρῳ θεοὺς ἀνάπτειν τὰ ὁπωσοῦν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκπονούμενα.

I think however that θεῶν may include Zeus, if not Alpheus, as well as Artemis.

10—12. *In success is the attainment unto perfect glory; and great contests the Muse delighteth to remember.* Here εὐτυχία refers primarily to victory in games; but as it generally bears a wider meaning and as ἀέθλων may bear a wider meaning, we need not, in translation, limit the words of Pindar to athletic contests; they would be true, for example, of the labours of Heracles. πανδοξία is a Pindaric formation and may be compared to πανδαισία, πανδημία; as πανδαισία is a banquet at which nothing fails, πανδοξία is glory to which nothing is wanting (not world-wide glory). A similar coinage of Pindar is παγγλωσσία (*Olymp.* II. 87). ἄκρον πανδοξίας is the eminence of perfect praise, which is won by success celebrated in song.

13. σπείρῃ νυν] MSS. ἔγειρε νῦν, Beck and Hermann restored σπείρῃ νυν, which is palaeographically almost identical. Compare εἰρειρε with σπείρει. It is clear that σπείρει was read by the scholiast who wrote ἐκπεμπε τοῖνυν, ᾧ Μοῦσα, καὶ σπείρει λαμπρότητα τινα τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Σικελίᾳ.

The usual interpretation that Pindar calls upon the Muse to scatter (*spargere*) praises, or *shed lustre* on the island may

be right. One might translate perhaps *Fling then some thing of beauty over the island*—remembering of course that νάσῳ is the dative of the interested person. The idea of spreading 'broad rumour' may be implied in σπείρει, but it certainly is not prominent. Editors always compare τιν δ' ἀδνεπῆς τε λύρα γλυκὺς τ' αὐλὸς ἀναπάσσει χάριν (*Ol.* x. 94), but the reading there is very uncertain, as the MSS. vary between ἀναπάσσει, ἀναπτάσσει and ἀναπλάσσει. A better parallel is *Nem.* VIII. 39 μομφὰν δ' ἐπισπείρων ἀλιτροῖς.

A new suggestion as to the meaning of σπείρει will be found in the *Additional Note* on p. 27; but see also note on l. 18 below.

ἀγλαίαν τινὰ] The indefinite pronoun is frequently used to express the writer's consciousness that his words are unusual or metaphorical,—that he is taking a liberty with language. Brightness is the idea dominant in ἀγλαΐα, which reminds us a little of Fame's 'glist'ring foil' in *Lycidas*. 'Song' or 'praise' or *laus illustris* is an inadequate translation.

14. Φερσεφόνα] Zeus gave Agragass (*Agrigentum*) as an 'unveiling gift' (εἰς τὰ ἀνακαλυπτήρια) to Persephone, and hence that city is called by Pindar in the Twelfth Pythian Ode (l. 2) Φερσεφόνας ἔδος. The donation was afterwards extended to the whole island. *Phers-phona*, with double aspirate, is doubtless the original form of the name of the maiden of Enna, and attempts to determine the etymology should start with it.

Observe that οἱ is digammated in Pindar, cp. below l. 16.

κατένευσέν τέ Foi χαίταις] *And shook*

Σικελίαν πείραν ὀρθώσειν κορυφαῖς πολλίων ἀφνεαῖς· ἐπ. α'. 15
 ὥπασε δὲ Κρονίων πολέμου μναστῆρά Φοι χαλκεντέος
 λαὸν ἵππαιχμον θαμὰ δὴ καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδων φύλλοις ἐλαιῶν
 χρυσέοις
 μιχθέντα. πολλῶν ἐπέβαν καιρὸν οὐ ψεύδει βαλῶν.

his locks in token unto her that he would exalt Sicily to be the richest soil on the fruitful earth, with cities supreme in wealth. Compare A, 524 κεφαλῇ κατανέυσομαι.

ἀριστεύουσιν... πείραν] πείραν defines the quality in which Sicily excels. χθονός depends on the comparative idea implied in ἀριστεύει.

15. κορυφαῖς πολλίων ἀφνεαῖς] κορυφαῖς and ἀφνεαῖς stand to each other in the same relation as ἀριστεύουσιν and πείραν; *cities unmatched in wealth.* This use of κορυφή, head, occurs below l. 34 and in *Olymp.* I. 13 δρέπων κορυφὰς ἀρετῶν ἀπὸ πασῶν: it may be illustrated by our word 'chief' (chef, *caput*). In *Olymp.* XIII. 111, the poet speaks of the cities made beautiful with wealth at the base of high-peaked Aetna, ταῖ θ' ὑπ' Αἴτνας ὑψιλόφου καλλίπλουτοι πόλεις. But perhaps κορυφαῖς (especially taken in connexion with ὀρθώσειν) may be intended to suggest also the lofty situation of the Sicilian cities; so Mezger 'die Städte Siciliens lagen grösstentheils auf steilen Anhöhen'.

16. Κρονίων] In Homer Κρονίων, Κρονίωνος but Κρονίωνος, Κρονίωννα; in Pindar Κρονίων and Κρονίων, see *Nem.* IX. 19 and 28; cp. Tyrtaeus, *Εὐνομία* 2, 1 (Bergk's numbering) αὐτὸς γὰρ Κρονίων καλλιστεφάνου πόσις Ἥρης.

πολέμου μναστῆρα] *Enamoured of war, war-wooing.* In the Twelfth Pythian (l. 24) the *Many-headed Mood* (πολυκέφαλος νόμος) invented by Athene is called a *glorious lover of games*, εὐκλεᾶ λαοσσῶν μναστῆρ' ἀγώνων, and in the Second Isthmian (l. 5) we read of Ἀφροδίτας εὐθρόνον μνάστειραν ἀδίσταν ὀπώραν. It is certain that μναστῆρ and μνάστειρα

are the same word as μνηστῆρ a suitor, whether μνάομαι, μνηστῆρ and μνηστεύω be originally connected with μνησῆσκω, μνήμη &c. or not. We can hardly hesitate to assume however that the Greek, whether rightly or wrongly, mentally associated μνηστῆρ with μνήμων, especially in such a phrase as πολέμου μναστῆρ, and we might attempt to reproduce this association by rendering *a people that turns to thoughts of bronze-clad war.* Such a rendering will be still more appropriate in the passage quoted from the Second Isthmian: *the sweet summer season which turns to thoughts of Love.*

χαλκεντέος] A Pindaric adjective, occurring also in *Nem.* XI. 35. Another Pindaric epithet σιδαροχάρμης is applied in the Second Pythian to the steeds and warriors of Sicily.

17. ἵππαιχμον] *of horsemen*, lit. fighting on horseback. The cavalry of Sicily were famous. ἵππαιχμος is also, as far as we know, a word framed by Pindar.

θαμὰ δὴ καὶ... μιχθέντα] *who full often too felt the touch of the golden leaves of Olympian olives*, that is whose children often won victories at Olympia. Some MSS. have θ' ἅμα, but θαμὰ is the best attested reading and is indubitably right. The old idea that θαμὰ might mean 'together' as well as 'often' and was in fact a collateral form of ἅμα, was exploded by Dr Ingram, *Hermathena*, vol. II. p. 217—227. δὴ here has its regular emphasizing force. For this use of μιχθέντα (characteristically Pindaric) compare *Nem.* IV. 21 Καδμείῳ νιν ἄνθεσι μίγνυν, *crowned him with flowers.*

18. πολλῶν ἐπέβαν καιρὸν οὐ ψεύδει βαλῶν] These words have caused con-

ἔσταν δ' ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις
 ἄνδρὸς φιλοξείνου καλὰ μελπόμενος,
 ἔνθα μοι ἄρμόδιον

στρ. β'.

20

siderable difficulty to editors, who are divided as to the construction of *καιρὸν*, some (notably Mr Fennell) taking it with *βαλὼν*, while others, including Dissen and Mezger, regard it as the object of *ἐπέβαν*. Dissen translates *multarum rerum tetigi commode oblatam copiam non loquutus mendacia*; Mezger 'ich habe Gelegenheit zu vielem Lobe gefunden, ohne dass ich doch mit einem Lügenworte geschleudert hätte'; Mr Fennell on the other hand 'I have entered upon a copious theme, having aimed at moderation with a statement of simple truth' (inadvertently rendering *καιρὸν βαλὼν* as if it were *καιροῦ βαλὼν*).

If it were not for the difficulties which have been discovered and discussed by the commentators, the sentence would appear clear and simple enough. We should instinctively take *καιρὸν* with *πολῶν* and therefore with *ἐπέβαν*, especially bearing in mind such passages as *ὦν ἔραται καιρὸν διδούς* (*Pyth.* I. 57), and *εὐκότα καιρὸν ὄλβου* (*Nem.* VII. 58); *ἐπιβῆναι καιρὸν* to alight on an occasion would seem a natural expression (for *ἐπιβαίνω*, alight on, with accusative see Liddell & Scott); and we should take *οὐ ψεύδει βαλὼν*, casting no falsehoods, without introducing the idea that Pindar imagines himself shooting at a mark. This is the interpretation adopted by Dissen and Mezger, and it is the only one that gives pertinent sense.

Translate: *I have found meet matter for many praises without flinging one false word.*

Pindar has touched on various distinctions of Sicily; she was a gift of Zeus to Persephone, her soil is fertile, her cities are wealthy, her children are warriors, and Olympian victors. There is thus much matter for praise, and, he adds, all the praise is true.

I confess that the words *οὐ ψεύδει βαλὼν* cast doubt on the somewhat bold explanation of *σπείρε* (l. 13) offered in the *Note* on p. 27. On the whole I am disposed to think that Pindar bids his Muse fling gleaming words in praise of Sicily, and then, when she has glorified the island, assures his hearers that the praises which she has flung are not mere glittering falsehoods.

19. ἔσταν δ' ἐπ' αὐλείαις θύραις] *I stood at the door of the courtyard*; that is, I approached the vestibule; compare *Isthmian* VII. 2 *παρὰ πρόθυρον ἰὼν ἀνεγείρω κῶμον*, also *Pyth.* III. 78 *κοῦραι παρ' ἐμὸν πρόθυρον μέλπονται*. So Dissen '*accessi ad aulicās fores, ad vestibulum Chromii*', and Mezger 'ich trat an das Hofthor'. Harpocration *sub voce* explains *αὐλεία θύρα* as *ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ πρώτη θύρα τῆς οἰκίας* (Dissen). *θύραι*, a door is like *πύλαι*, a gate.

20. καλὰ μελπόμενος] In *Pythian* III. 78, *Ματρὶ τὰν κοῦραι παρ' ἐμὸν πρόθυρον μέλπονται θαμὰ σεμνὰν θεόν*, we have *μέλομαι* with an accusative of the burden of the song, like the active *μέλω*. And so here it is better to take *καλὰ* as a direct accusative than as an adverb,—*celebrating a fair theme in choral song*. The genitive *ἀνδρὸς φιλοξείνου* (that is, Chromius) depends on *θύραις*.

Bergk conjectures, but wisely does not read, *κλέα*. (1) *καλὰ* gives excellent sense; (2) were *κλέα* the true reading, it was too familiar a word to suffer corruption.

21. ἄρμόδιον δειπνον] Properly *banquet due*, and so equivalent to *generous banquet*, compare the Homeric *μενοεικέα δαῖτα*. This use of *ἄρμόδιος* is illustrated by *ξεῖνι ἄρμόζοντα*, *generous entertainment*, in *Pythian* IV. 129 ('*epulas convenientes non parcas*' Dissen).

δεῖπνον κεκόσμηται, θαμὰ δ' ἄλλοδαπῶν
οὐκ ἀπείρατοι δόμοι
ἐντί· λέλογχε δὲ μεμφομένοις ἐσλοὺς ὕδωρ καπνῷ φέρειν

Mezger gives us the alternative of 'ein geziemendes' or 'ein fertiges Mahl', without deciding which is preferable. He suggests the latter rendering (which to me seems impossible) because a scholiast writes *πρόχειρος καὶ ἀρμόδιος* in elucidation of *ἔτοιμον αἶνον* in *Olymῖ*. VI. 18. But the fact that *ἔτοιμος* is (rightly) paraphrased in that passage by 'at hand and due' does not prove that *ἀρμόδιος*, *due*, *fitting*, could be equivalent to 'fertig'.

22. **θαμὰ δ' ἄλλοδαπῶν]** *and often are his halls visited by outlanders*. In another ode, the Ninth Nemean, composed in honour of Chromius, the poet refers to his hospitality by mentioning that the door was too narrow to admit the multitude of guests, *ξείνων νενίκανται θύραι* (l. 2).

Bergk, in order to connect this sentence more closely with the following words in lines 24, 25, has proposed *θάμα δ' ἐχθοδοπῶν* (*θάμα* paroxyton for *ἄμα*; but see above, note on l. 17). Hartung proposed *κεκόσμηται θ' ἄμα δ'*.

23. **οὐκ ἀπείρατοι]** Litotes. For *ἀπείρατος* compare *Ol. XI. 18 μηδ' ἀπείρατον καλῶν*; in active sense, *unadventurous*, *Isth. III. 48 (IV. 30)*. (In *Olymῖ*. VI. 54, the MSS. vary between *ἀπειράτω* and *ἀπειράντω*, the words being

κέκρυπτο γὰρ σχοίνῳ βατία τ' ἐν ἀπειράτῳ, where the metre requires that the penultimate syllable of the verse should be short. Boeckh and Disson take *ἀπείρατος* as equivalent to *ἀπείραστος*, *untried*, and so of a thicket, *dense*; compare *θανματός*, *θανμαστός*. Bergk reads *ἀπειρίτῳ*.)

24. **λέλογχε δὲ μεμφομένοις κ.τ.λ.]** *But he hath won good friends to quell as with water the smoke of envious cavillers.*

The following considerations are, it seems to me, decisive in favour of the meaning elicited by Hermann and Mat-

thiae, whose interpretations differ only in a minor detail. (1) The impersonal construction of *λέλογχε* which underlies other explanations is at least doubtful; the personal construction is regular and occurs in Pindar *Ol. I. 53 ἀκέρδεια λέλογχεν θαμινὰ κακαγόρος* (though there the verb is used in a somewhat different sense). (2) Here especially the context seems to require the personal construction, as affording a closer and more natural connexion with the preceding sentences. *The generous host has won by his hospitality good friends*. (3) A remark of Plutarch (*Frag. XXIII. 2*) that 'envy is compared by some to smoke' (*τὸν φθόνον ἐνιοι τῷ καπνῷ εἰκάζουσιν*), whether he had this passage in mind or not, strongly confirms the opinion that *καπνῷ* here, *occurring in close connexion with μεμφομένοις*, means the smoke of envy. This passage was adduced by Hermann in support of his explanation. (4) The collocation *μεμφομένοις ἐσλοὺς ὕδωρ καπνῷ* strongly suggests that the *ἐσλοί* are pitched against the *μεμφόμενοι* as *ὕδωρ* against *καπνός*; whence we infer (a) that *ἐσλούς* is not governed by *μεμφόμενοι*, (b) that *καπνός* represents the quality or work of the detractors, not of the good.

The general sense then is: Chromius has won for himself noble friends, who defend him against cavillers and quench their envy. In this sense Hermann and Matthiae interpreted the passage, but their analyses of the sentence are somewhat different. Hermann, followed by Disson, takes it thus: *Nactus est (hospitii liberalitate) viros probos adversus obtrectatores, ad aquam fumo obviam ferendam*. Matthiae (Seebode's *Archiv für Philologie*, v. ii., fasc. 4, p. 681, quoted by Disson) takes *μεμφομένοις*, not with *λέλογχεν ἐσλοὺς*, but with *ἀντίον φέρειν*, the

ἀντίον. τέχνηαι δ' ἐτέρων ἕτεραι· χρὴ δ' ἐν εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς
στείχοντα μάρνασθαι φυᾷ. 25

order being λέλογχεν ἑσλούς, μεμφομένοις ὕδωρ ἀντίον φέρειν (ὥσπερ) καπνῶ. Dissen objects to Matthiae's view, on the ground that the natural order of the words is neglected and that it is intolerable to have to supply the comparative conjunction ὥσπερ. I am disposed to agree with Bergk that Matthiae comes nearer the truth than Hermann. That μεμφομένοις alone with λέλογχεν could mean *against cavillers*, I cannot believe; the so-called *dativus incommodi* is sufficiently elastic, but it would not at its tensest meet a case like this. We have only to suppose the first three words standing in a clause by themselves, and we see that Hermann is wrong and that the case of μεμφομένοις is really determined by the subsequent words ἀντίον φέρειν. So far Matthiae is right, but he need not have introduced ὥσπερ: Pindar is using a metaphor rather than a simile. Without metaphor he might have written λέλογχεν ἑσλούς, μεμφομένων φθόνῳ ἀντιάξεν. In the metaphor, ὕδωρ ἀντίον φέρειν takes the place of ἀντιάξεν and καπνῶ of φθόνῳ; and the poet gains an elegant verbal antithesis by writing, instead of the genitive μεμφομένων, the dative μεμφομένοις, a strict *dativus incommodi* ('their smoke for cavillers').

A totally different interpretation, which is at first sight attractive, has been suggested by von Leutsch and is accepted by Mezger. Observing that water poured on smoke increases it these scholars conclude that ὕδωρ καπνῶ φέρειν ἀντίον was a Greek proverb corresponding to our 'pouring oil on the fire', and translate thus: 'It is the lot of those who detract from the noble to carry water to quench smoke', that is to increase the glory which they would fain disparage. Strabo, IX. 443, Θετταλίαν λαχεῖν Δευκαλίῳνι is quoted to support λέλογχε with the dative, but Herwerden both suspects the reading in

Strabo, and rightly takes ἀνὴρ as the subject of λέλογχε (*Pindarica*, p. 24). Considerations already adduced tell against Mezger's view, and the only argument in its favour falls to the ground through the simple reflection that though a small quantity of water poured on a smoking fire causes the vapour to spread about, a sufficiently large quantity will extinguish it.

But Mezger may be judged almost out of his own mouth, and here we come to another argument which supports the explanation adopted by the present editor. According to the Pindaric usage, which Mezger has the credit of having discovered, ἀντίον in l. 25 corresponds to ἀντιάξωσιν in l. 68, both words occupying the same position in the same verse of strophe β' and antistrophos δ' respectively. By this device Pindar indicates a connexion in thought between the two passages, and the connexion is patent. The good men oppose the cavillers as the gods and Heracles oppose the giants. This circumstance confirms the view that the ἑσλοί are the subject of ἀντίον φέρειν.

The next note will develop Pindar's meaning further.

25. τέχνηαι δ' ἐτέρων κ.τ.λ.] *Arts are divers; but it is meet that a man should walk in straight paths, and use in strife his native vigour. For might of limb worketh (manifests itself) by action; and wit—in those to whom it is given by nature to foresee the future—by counsels.*

The opposition of born talent, φύς, to art and acquired learning is a favourite theme of Pindar. He touches on it in the Second Olympian Ode, where he attacks Korax and Teisias; l. 86 σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φύᾳ· μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι παγ-
γλωσσία, κόρακες ὥς, ἄκραντα γαρύετον Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον, *Wise is he who hath much knowledge through native wit; but*

πράσσει γὰρ ἔργῳ μὲν σθένος,
βουλαῖσι δὲ φρήν ἐσσόμενον προῖδεῖν,

ἀντ. β'.

it is through study that they twain clamorously utter their lean notes, idly, like crows against the divine bird of Zeus. (Mr Verrall showed, from the dual γαρύετον combined with the Pindaric paronomasia κόρακες, that Korax and Teisias the Sicilian rhetors are alluded to. For λάβροι, *loud*, see note on *Nem.* VIII. 46.) Again in *Olymp.* IX. l. 100, we read,

τὸ δὲ φυᾷ κράτιστον ἅπαν· πολλοὶ δὲ
διδακταῖς
ἀνθρώπων ἀρεταῖς κλέος
ῥουσαν ἀρεσθαι.

In the Second Pythian l. 72 the accomplishments of the ape, which amuse children, are contrasted with natural ability;

μαθὼν καλὸς τοι πίθων παρὰ παισὶν
αἰεὶ
καλός. ὁ δὲ Ῥαδάμανθους εὖ πέπραγεν
ὅτι φρενῶν

ἔλαχε καρπὸν ἀμώμητον, κ.τ.λ.

where the purpose of introducing Rhadamanthus, as I have pointed out (*Hermathena*, vol. VI. p. 185), is the suggestion that his name means *radiως* *μανθάνων*.

Pindar himself provides us with a means of elucidating to some extent the present passage by the hint (contained in *ἀντίον*—*ἀντιάζωσιν*) that we are to take part of the fourth antistrophe in connexion with it. And it requires no ingenuity to see that *σὺν πλαγίῳ κόρῳ στείχοντα* (l. 64) *him who walketh with crooked envy* is opposed to ('findet seinen Gegensatz in' Mezger) *στείχοντα ἐν εὐθείᾳς ὁδοῖς* *him who walketh in straight paths*; and the *κόρος* of l. 65 corresponds to the *καπνός* of l. 24. Thus the thought is: the true and noble man, when he is assailed by envious cavillers, who, because they are envious, use crooked wiles (*τέχναι*), will not deviate from the straight path but will oppose their adventitious arts by his own inborn strength. So it

was that Heracles subdued those who walked with crooked envy, and aided the gods to overcome the envious giants.

In the first instance the poet is aiming these shafts at enemies of Chromius; but it would be quite in the manner of Pindar to intend a side-blow at his own rivals; and this is suggested by *τέχναι δ' ἐτέρων ἔπεραι*, see above, *Introduction*, p. 6. It is possible that Pindar's rivals, or literary foes, may have been actually among the detractors of Chromius.

26. *πράσσει*] *operates by, manifests itself in.* *ἔργον* is the *σθένος* externalised, and *πράσσει* means the process. For *πράσσω*=*ago*, 'function' Mr Fennell compares *πρασσόντων μελέων* in frag. 131, l. 4 (ed. Bergk).

This verse refers to Chromius, whose deeds prove his native strength.

27. *βουλαῖσι δὲ φρήν κ.τ.λ.*] These words, I believe (with Welcker), refer to the poet himself, not, as is generally assumed, to Chromius. In this ode Pindar is a prophet foretelling, under the cover of myth, a glorious career for Chromius and a fair close thereto. As Heracles in the myth corresponds to Chromius, Tiresias, who prophesies the greatness and final apotheosis of Heracles, corresponds to Pindar. And in the passage now under consideration Pindar indicates this by the words *those to whom it is given to foresee the future*. For *ἔπεται* in this sense—not quite the same as *ἐνεστι*, but suggesting continuity in time—compare *Isthm.* III. 4 *μεγάλαι δ' ἀρεταὶ θνατοῖς ἔπονται*.

The general connexion of thought in ll. 24—28 may be summed thus. We must oppose envy and artifice by straightforwardness and native faculty, *φύα*. In you, Chromius, this *φύα* is *σθένος*, in me *φρήν*, whereby I can foresee what is to be, and can meet the cavillers by prophesying your glorious future.

συγγενές οἷς ἔπεται.

Ἀγησιδάμου παῖ, σέο δ' ἀμφὶ τρόπῳ

τῶν τε καὶ τῶν χρήσιες.

30

οὐκ ἔραμαι πολὺν ἐν μεγάρῳ πλοῦτον κατακρίψαις ἔχειν,

ἀλλ' ἐόντων εὖ τε παθεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι φίλοις ἐξαρκέων. κοιναὶ
γὰρ ἔρχοντ' ἐλπίδες

29, 33. *But in the compass of thy character, O son of Agesidamus, are powers of using (fortune's) various gifts.* For ἀμφὶ (somewhat like German *bei*) compare *Olymp.* XIII. 37 ἀελλω ἀμφ' ἐνί, *in the compass of one sun's race*; *Pyth.* V. 119 δύνασιν...ἐπ' ἔργοισιν ἀμφὶ τε βουλαῖς ἔχειν, *puissance for the achievement of deeds and in the scope of his counsels*; *Nem.* VI. 14 οὐκ ἄμμορος ἀμφὶ πάλα, *in the field of wrestling*.

τὰ καὶ τὰ] *this and that*, is a favourite expression of Pindar and always means *divers things*; according to the context, the *divers things* may all be good, or some may be good and others—*θάτερα*. Observe the following passages. *Olymp.* II. 53 ὁ μὲν πλοῦτος ἀρεταῖς δεδαυδαμένος φέρει τῶν τε καὶ τῶν καιρὸν, *wealth surely, if tricked out with fair qualities* (of its possessor), *giveth occasion* (means) *for divers achievements*. *Pyth.* V. 55 ὁ Βάττου δ' ἔπεται παλαιὸς ὄλβος ἔμπαν τὰ καὶ τὰ νέμων, πύργος ἀστεος, *But the ancient fortune of Battus' house abideth, notwithstanding, allotting various blessings, a tower of defence to the city*. (For ἔπεται compare above, note on I. 27.) *Pyth.* VII. 20 φαντὶ γε μὲν οὕτω κεν ἀνδρὶ παρμονίμαν θάλλουσιν εὐδαιμονίαν τὰ καὶ τὰ φέρεσθαι, *Surely they say (γε italicises φαντὶ) that Happiness, when she thus abideth with a man always in the fairness of her youth, twinmeth divers things*; that is good and bad, the bad being φθόνος, mentioned in the previous line. [Dissen takes φέρεσθαι here as equivalent to φέρειν (*afferre*, and so Mezger 'mit sich bringe'); wrongly; εὐδαιμονία does not bring φθόνος in her train, but wins it (φέρεται in its regular

middle sense).] *Isthm.* IV. 52 Ζεὺς τὰ τε καὶ τὰ νέμει, *Zeus distributes various lots* (good and bad).

With these passages in view I cannot hesitate to disagree with the majority of commentators, who made τῶν καὶ τῶν refer to the ἔργον and βουλαί mentioned in the preceding verses. 'In utraque virtute uteris', Dissen; 'Rath und That', Mezger; and even Welcker, who rightly refers βουλαῖς to Pindar, explains 'tu alterum habes, σθένος, alterum experiris, βουλὰς'. But it is quite gratuitous to assign to τὰ καὶ τὰ here a definite sense which the expression bears nowhere else; and especially in the light of the verses quoted above from the Second Olympian ode. Chromius' character is such that he can use well the various gifts of fortune, wealth among the rest. The two following lines, I think, make this explanation certain.

31. οὐκ ἔραμαι, κ.τ.λ.] *I love not to keep great store of treasure hidden in the palace, but of my abundance to make good cheer and win a good name, contenting my friends*. From this defence of Chromius' lavish hospitality, we may with some probability conclude that one of the charges brought against him by the cavillers was prodigality. Observe that παθεῖν and ἀκοῦσαι are aorists: εὖ πάσχειν would mean to indulge in continual high living. εὖ is carried on to ἀκοῦσαι.

32. ἐόντων] Such expressions as to *give of your abundance* or χαριζομένη παρόντων are familiar; ἐόντων εὖ παθεῖν is the same construction in a passive form. Dissen compares Theognis I. 1009 τῶν αὐτοῦ κτεάνων εὖ πασχόμεν. The genitive is akin to the partitive gen.; if

πολυπόνων ἀνδρῶν. ἐγὼ δ' Ἡρακλέος ἀντέχομαι προφρό-
νως, ἐπ. β'.

ἐν κορυφαῖς ἀρετῶν μεγάλαις ἀρχαῖον ὀτρύνων λόγον,
ὥς, ἐπεὶ σπλάγχχνων ὕπο ματέρος αὐτίκα θαητὰν ἐς αἶγλαν
παῖς Διὸς 35

ὠδῖνα φεύγων διδύμῳ σὺν κασιγνήτῳ μόλεν,—

ὥς οὐ λαθὼν χρυσόθρονον

στρ. γ'.

Ἦραν κροκωτὸν σπάργανον ἐγκατέβα·

grammarians seek a name for it, they might call it the genitive of Capital.

κοινὰ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] *For to all alike come the hopes and fears of toiling men; none are exempted from the changes and chances of mortal life; therefore make use of the wealth while it is still called to-day. κοινὰ, common* (as in *Hamlet*, 'ay, madam, it is common'); compare *Nem.* VII. 30 κοινὸν γὰρ ἔρχεται κῦμ' Ἄλδα, *to all alike comes the wave of Death's river. ἐλπίδες, hopes and fears*, ἐλπίς being neutral, either hope or fear; translated into objective language it means *changes and chances*. πολυπόνων, *toiling and suffering*; compare *ταλαὶ βροτοί, comfortless mortals*, *Aristoph. Birds*, 687, and *οἰζυροὺς βροτούς*, *N* 569.

33—38. ἐγὼ δ' κ.τ.λ.] *But I hold fast and fast by Heracles for matchless deeds of mighty prowess, and stir a time-honoured tale,—how no sooner had the son of Zeus with his twin brother issued from his mother's womb forthright into the wondrous dazzling light, fresh from the birth-rang, than his swathing in the saffron bands was known to Hera on her golden throne.*

ὀτρύνω is used like κινῶ,—as if the tale lay quiet and Pindar disturbed its rest.

35. σπλάγχχνων ὕπο] *from beneath the heart*. A passage in the Sixth Olympian, telling of the birth of Iamus, is very nearly verbally identical: *ἦλθεν δ' ὑπὸ σπλάγχχνων ὑπ' ὠδινός τ' ἐρατὰς Ἰάμος ἐς φάος αὐτίκα* (l. 43). Here αὐτίκα is

taken by Dissen with ἐπεὶ (*quum primum*, the very moment that); but Mr Fennell rightly observes that it 'indicates the normal process of the delivery', as in the Sixth Olympian. The point of αὐτίκα is that the passage from the womb into the light is not graduated, but sudden, and this idea is further developed in the words θαητὰν αἶγλαν. θαητὰν for θηητὰν, *wondrous to look upon*, suggests the first surprise of light dawning on a newborn infant's eyes; and αἶγλαν is felicitously chosen to express the dazzle after the darkness of the womb.

36. κασιγνήτῳ] Iphicles, son of Amphitruo.

37. ὥς] So Boeckh for MSS. ὥς τ'. Some scholars have wished to change ἐπεὶ in l. 35, for it is clear that ἐπεὶ and ὥς τ' cannot stand together. [Hermann, for example, read ὥς ἄρα, Rauchenstein ὥς ποτε, but these and other attempts to emend ὥς ἐπεὶ set all principles of textual criticism at defiance.] The omission of τ' is a simple and certain remedy; a scribe observing ὥς following ὥς in the same sentence and unconnected by a copula would be tempted to insert a τε or a καί. The second ὥς is (as Mezger says) a repetition or resumption of the first ὥς. The object of this resumption is to begin the tale proper in the new strophe.

38. κροκωτὸν] *saffron-dyed*; κροκωτός is generally used as a substantive. The colour was worn by kings and heroes; in

ἀλλὰ θεῶν βασίλεια
 σπερχθεῖσα θυμῷ πέμπει δράκοντας ἄφαρ. 40
 τοὶ μὲν οὔχθειςᾶν πυλᾶν
 εἰς θαλάμου μυχὸν εὐρὺν ἔβαν, τέκνοισιν ὠκείας γνάθους
 ἀμφελίξασθαι μεμαῶτες· ὁ δ' ὀρθὸν μὲν ἀντεινεν κᾶρα, πειρᾶτο
 δὲ πρῶτον μάχας,

δισσαῖσι δοιοὺς αὐχένων 41
 μάρψαις ἀφύκτοις χερσὶν ἑαῖς ὄφιας· 45
 ἀγχομένοις δὲ χρόμος

the Fourth Pythian, Jason flings off a saffron-coloured garment, *κροκβεν εἶμα* (l. 232).

ἐγκατέβα] *was placed and swathed in*, stronger than *ἐνέβα* just as *ἐγκαταδέω* is stronger than *ἐνδέω*. Verbs compounded with *ἐγκατα-* (such as *ἐγκαταλείπω*, *ἐγκαταξέγγνυμι*, *ἐγκατατίθημι*, *ἐγκατάκειμαι*, &c.) connote a firm insertion or a strict inclosure; here *ἐγκατ(έβα)* suggests the swathing.

39. **ἀλλὰ θεῶν βασίλεια]** *But the queen of the gods, in hot wrath, straightway sent serpents*. I follow Heyne and Bergk in reading *βασίλεια* for MSS. *βασίλεια*; compare *ἰέρεα* for *ἰέρεια* and see Bergk's note. Boeckh's *βασιλέα* would mean *palace* (*βασιλεία*). *σπέρχομαι* is used of *hasty and violent anger*; as a medical term *σπερχνός* connotes the violence of a fever or sickness. The scholiast explains by *ὑπερξέονσα*.

42. **θαλάμου]** *θάλαμος* and *θάλαμοι* have the special sense of a woman's chamber or bower. *μυχὸν θαλάμου* = *chamber far withdrawn, inner*.

τέκνοισιν ὠκείας κ.τ.λ.] There can hardly be any doubt that *ἀμφελίξασθαι* refers to the coiling of the serpents round the bodies of the children; cf. X 95 *ἐλίσσόμενος περὶ χειρὶ* of a serpent. The proper meaning of *ἐλίσσω* is to coil, and the middle in active sense is quite right here as its object is part of the subject's body. The use of *γνάθους*, where we

might expect a word denoting the whole body, is bold and graphic; in the swift process of coiling, the jaws of the snakes and the *darting* tongues are the most prominent feature,—they seem all jaws. *ὠκείας* refers to the rapid motion of the head. *Ravelling*, although as a translation, it would be inexact, is the subjective aspect of *ὠκείας* and is expressed by *μεμαῶτες*. We may translate, *Yearning to wind round the children their coils and darting jaws*.

Dissen's note is 'dicit avidas maxillas celeriter se moventium, appropinquantium bestiarum, ad partem corporis revocato epitheto, quod proprie toti corpori serpentium competit'.

43. **ὀρθὸν ἀντεινεν]** *ὀρθὸν ἀνατεινεν* = raise in an erect posture. This in itself was the mark of a prodigious infant.

πρῶτον] *for the first time*. It was his first battle.

δισσαῖσι δοιοὺς κ.τ.λ.] *by seizing in the sure grasp of his hands twain the two serpents by their necks*. ἀφύκτοις Bergk unnecessarily changes to ἀφύκτως. Notice the stress laid by Pindar on the dual number of the serpents by *δισσαῖσι δοιοὺς* in the emphatic position at the beginning of the antistrophos (see next note).

46. **ἀγχομένοις δὲ χρόμος]** *As they were throttled, the breath of life left their unutterable limbs in a gurgling hiss*.

χρόνος is the reading of the MSS., which editors have (vainly I think) endeavoured

ψυχὰς ἀπέπνευσεν μελέων ἀφάτων.
ἐκ δ' ἄρ' ἄτλατον πέλος

to explain. 'Constrictis tempus vitam exstinxit', Dissen; 'indem sie gewürgt wurden, blies die Zeit ihre Seelen aus den unsagbaren Gliedern=die lange Zeit des Würgens raubte ihnen den Athem', Mezger; 'the time made them breathe forth the life from their dread frames', Fennell. Von Leutsch says *insolens sane dicendi genus sed necessarium*, and Mr Fennell admits that 'it is quite possible that there is some corruption but it is impossible to establish a correction'. Hartung has adopted ἀγχομένοι δὲ χρόνῳ ψυχὰς ἀπέπνευσαν, a reading which may, *primo conspectu*, be rejected as uncritical; Bergk suggests δ' ἄτρομος, which, we may safely say, would never have become corrupted to δὲ χρόνος.

The obvious objections to χρόνος are decisive. χρόνος by itself can only mean *a long time*, and thus gives a sense discordant with the spirit of the narrative. As Bergk says, *celeriter facinus patravit infans*, his mighty grasp throttled them at once, and so it is represented in Theocritus' account of the prodigy, XXIV. 55. But even if we waive this, ἀπέπνευσε cannot admit an external agent (like χρόνος) as its subject.

I have no hesitation in restoring χρόμος, the conjecture of Schmidt. From a critical point of view it is a perfect emendation; for that the unfamiliar χρόμος would have almost inevitably been 'corrected' to the familiar and nearly identical χρόνος will be admitted by any one who has dealt at all with questions of textual criticism. It is moreover a fine addition to a realistic picture; we hear the hissing death-rattle, in which, literally, the breath leaves the serpent's body. (Cp. *Nem.* x. 74, where Polydeukes finds the dying Castor ἀσθματι φρίσσοντα πνοάς.) The strangling grasp produces the χρόμος in the throat, and the χρόμος, as it were,

'expires' their souls. As χρόμος is merely the audible sign of the departing breath and is not external to the organisms, the phrase χρόμος ἀπέπνευσε is not exposed to the objection which applies to χρόνος ἀπέπνευσε. For χρόμος see Hesychius.

But there is a further consideration that removes remaining doubts on the subject of χρόμος. The idea of the ode is a comparison between the fulfilled career of Heracles and the unfulfilled career of Chromius, and it would be characteristic of Pindar's art to remind the hearer or reader of this by indirect allusion in the course of the narrative. A favourite mode of such allusion was paronomasia, and here the strange word χρόμος (which arrests the attention all the more because it is strange) immediately suggests Χρόμιος. This also explains the form of the phrase χρόμος ἀπέπνευσεν; the circumstance that χρόμος is the subject and as it were the agent makes the allusion to some exploit of Chromius more precise. What this exploit was, to which Pindar compares the slaying of the serpents, we have no means of knowing; but the emphatic prominence given to the number of the serpents by δισσαῖσι διοῦς (see last note) suggests that two special enemies of Chromius are alluded to. See above, *Introduction*.

Herwerden (*Pindarica*, p. 25) suggests χάνος (equivalent to στόμα) for χρόνος.

47. μελέων ἀφάτων] This use of μελέων is a reminiscence of Homeric phrases like θυμὸς ἐξέπτατο ἐκ μελέων (Dissen). For ἀφάτων, *vast, huge*, compare Herodotus VII. 190 ἄφατα χρήματα, *vast sums of money* (like German 'kolossal').

48. ἐκ δ' ἄρ' ἄτλατον πέλος πλάξε γυναῖκας] The better MSS. have ἄτλατον δέος, while V₁, X, Y, Z and the *libri* of Moschopolus have βέλος. Many editors,

πλάξε γυναῖκας, ὅσαι τύχον Ἀλκμήνας ἀρήγοισαι λέχει·
καὶ γὰρ αὐτά, ποσσὶν ἄπεπλος δρούσαις ἀπὸ στρωμνῆς, ὁμῶς
ἄμυνεν ὕβριν κνωδάλων. 50

including Dissen and Fennell, adopt βέλος on the intelligible ground that δέος can be explained as an interpretation of the difficult βέλος, whereas βέλος cannot be accounted for if δέος were the word written by Pindar. This argument is *conclusive against* δέος. They explain βέλος as a pang of fear (*repentinus animi motus*), and support it by Homer's ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ὠδίνουσιν ἔχῃ βέλος ὅξυ γυναῖκα, Α 269 (compare also Homeric ἄχει βεβόλημένος). But this use of βέλος ὅξυ for the sharp *physical* pain of a woman in travail—almost a βέλος of Artemis—does not in any way justify or explain the absolute use of βέλος for *fear*. To me it seems incredible that Pindar would have used the word in this sense without some further definition of its meaning. I hold therefore, with Bergk, Hartung and others, that both βέλος and δέος are corrections, but their suggestions are certainly untenable. Neither Bergk's ἀπλατον χρέος (which assumes a double corruption), nor Hartung's βλάβος nor even Rauchenstein's τάφος stood in any peril of being changed; and even if τάφος might have been surmounted with the gloss δέος, it could never have produced βέλος. In the reading βέλος we have a valuable clue for discovering the lost original. βέλος gives such poor sense that no scribe would have thought of introducing it into the text unless it were *very similar in letters to the actual word he found*, that word being itself so unfamiliar that it puzzled him completely. In fact the only circumstance that could have determined anyone to read βέλος was its likeness to an unintelligible original. This argument appears to me conclusive, and I have no hesitation in restoring πέλος, a neuter noun related to πέλωρ, as ὕδος (Hesiodic ὕδει) is related to ὕδωρ,

It may be that Hesychius had this very passage before him when he noted the gloss

πέλος· μέγα, τεράστιον.

(His gloss on πέλωρ is μέγα, ὑπερφυές.) This rare word was not understood; and while one scribe, who clung to the letter, altered it to the nearest word that suggested anything like sense (βέλος), another who had a keener eye for the meaning boldly read δέος. While πέλωρ was confined in use to living organisms, πέλος (as is indicated by Hesychius' τεράστιον and as the form of the word suggests) might be used of a strange or prodigious event; hence Pindar uses it here. We may render; *but the terrible prodigy struck with dismay the women who were helping Alcmena at her bedside.*

50. καὶ γὰρ αὐτά κ.τ.λ.] All the MSS. read ποσσὶν (U ποσίν). Dissen's note is 'non temere adjecta voce ποσσίν, sed oppositionis causa; consternatae feminae, ipsa vero etiam accurrit'; in other words ποσσίν is added to δρούσαις, in order to emphasize the motion of Alcmena; cf. ποσσι τρέχων *Olympe*. x. 65, where the footrace is opposed to the wrestling match. Cf. also *Olympe*. XIII. 72 ἀνὰ δ' ἔπαλτ' ὀρθῶ ποδί. As Mr Fennell says, we may translate 'to her feet', though the dative is certainly instrumental. Bergk reads πασίν (to be taken with ἄμυνεν) which Mezger accepts. Translate: *For she too leaped to her feet where she lay, robeless, and was fain to help in repelling the felon monsters.*

Stephanus' ὅμως for the MSS. ὁμῶς is arbitrary and Mezger is right in rejecting it. The choice of ὕβρις to designate the attack of the beasts is notable, and indicates that Pindar is thinking of some triumph of Chremis won over *human* κνώδαλα. ἄπεπλος, it is perhaps

ταχὺ δὲ Καδμείων ἄγοι χαλκείοις σὺν ὕπλοις ἔδραμον ἀθρόοι·
 ἐπ. γ΄.

ἐν χερὶ δ' Ἀμφιτρύων κολεοῦ γυμνὸν τινάσσων φάσσανον
 ἵκετ', ὀξείαις ἀνίαισι τυπείς. τὸ γὰρ οἰκείον πῆζει πάνθ' ὁμῶς·
 εὐθὺς δ' ἀπήμων κραδία κᾶδος ἀμφ' ἀλλότριον.

ἔστα δὲ θάμβει δυσφόρῳ στρ. δ. 55

τερπνῶ τε μιχθείς. εἶδε γὰρ ἐκνόμιον
 λῆμά τε καὶ δύναμιν
 υἱοῦ· παλίγγλωσσον δέ Φοι ἀθάνατοι

unnecessary to observe, does not mean naked, but ἐν χιτωνίῳ, or μονοχίτων.

51. χαλκείοις σὺν ὅπλοις] Here Pindar (in the 3rd epode) represents the countrymen of Heracles as wearing bronze arms, just as he represented the countrymen of Chromius (in the first epode l. 16) as a people πολέμον μαστήρα χαλκευτός. Hints like this serve the purpose of keeping the parallel in the reader's mind.

ἔδραμον] in arsis, as below l. 69 χρόνῳ; Ol. VI. 103 ποντόμεδον, Pyth. III. 6 γυιαρκέος. Note the quantity of ἀθρόοι.

52. ἐν χερὶ cf. Pyth. II. 8 ἐν χερσὶ ἐδάμασσε πώλους. Moschopoulos is our authority for φάσσανον which is omitted by the MSS.

53. ὀξείαις ἀνίαισι τυπείς] A reminiscence of T 125 τὸν δ' ἄχος ὀξὺ τύψε. In Pindar the ι of ἀνιᾶρός is short, cf. Ol. XII. 11 ἀνιᾶραῖς; that of ἀνία is short here (as in Sappho and Theognis), but long (as always in Homer) in Pyth. IV. 154.

τὸ γὰρ οἰκείον πῆζει πάνθ' ὁμῶς] For each alike is whelmed by his own trouble (the grief that comes home to him), but distress for a stranger's sorrow soon passeth away from the heart. πῆζω, keep under, whelm, compare Eurip. Hippol. 637 πῆζει τάγαθῶ τὸ δυστυχές.

54. εὐθὺς δ' ἀπήμων] The heart feels concern, but straightway—loses it; the feeling is only a passing impression (rasch

wieder vorübergehender Eindruck, Mezger).

ἀμφὶ κᾶδος] cf. Isthm. VI. 9 (θυμὸν εὐφρανas) ἀμφ' Ἰόλαον ἱππόμητιν.

55. ἔστα δὲ θάμβει κ.τ.λ.] He stood oppressed with wonder and delight; for he saw the strange spirit and power of his son, and the immortals had rendered the tidings of the messengers perverse.

For the responson of ἔστα to ἔσταν at the beginning of the 2nd strophe, see Introduction p. 5.

μιχθείς] touched with. The mental state of Amphitryon was θάμβος wonder, and this wonder was at once painful and pleasurable. Dissen quotes οἰκτῶ συγκεκραμένην, Soph. Aj. 896, and δειλαῖα συγέκραιμαι δῦα, and translates affectus; but I doubt whether the use of συγκεράννυμι can throw much light on the use of μέγνυμι. At the same time I have no doubt that he is right in taking it simply as affected, and not as in a state of mingled &c. Compare υ 203 ἀνδρας μισγόμεναι κακότητι καὶ ἄλγεσι; Isthm. III. 5 εὐλογίαις ἀστῶν μεμίχθαι; the general use of the word is to bring into contact with.

58. υἱοῦ] Intended by its position in the verse to correspond to Ἀγησιδάμου παῖ in the corresponding line of the second antistrophos, and thereby indicate that Chromius like Heracles is endowed with ἐκνόμιον λῆμα καὶ δύναμιν.

παλίγγλωσσον] This word may be

ἀγγέλων ῥῆσιν θέσαν.

γείτονα δὴ κάλεσεν Διὸς ὑψίστου προφάταν ἔξοχον, 60
ὀρθόμαντιν Τειρεσίαν· ὁ δὲ Φοῖ φράζε καὶ παντὶ στρατῷ, ποίαις
ὁμιλήσει τύχαις,

termed a *vox Pindarica*. It occurs only here and in *Isthmian* v. 24 οὐδ' ἔστιν οὕτω βάρβαρος οὔτε παλιγγλωσσος πόλις, ἅπτις οὐ Πηλῆος αἰεὶ κλέος. Commentators have been in the habit of assigning different meanings to the word in these two passages; (1) here *in contrarium verterant*; schol. ἐναντιόφημον, (2) *Isthm.* v. 24, *speaking a foreign language*; schol. ἀλλόκοτος. As to the general sense they are of course right, but it is important to observe that παλιγγλωσσος itself has the same connotation in both passages, the apparent difference being due to the context. παλιγγλωσσος means *using wrong words*, that is, *words which do not agree with a certain standard*. In the passage under consideration, the standard is the truth or the fact; as it turned out, the speech of the messengers used words which did not agree with the fact. In the other passage, the standard is the Greek language. See *App. A*, note 1.

Φοῖ for *Amphitryon*.

59. θέσαν] rendered. θέμεν occupies a similar metrical position in l. 5; and Pindar intended to intimate that his hymn renders praise to Chromius even as the gods gave glory to Heracles by rendering the tale of the messengers false. When we take this in connexion with the word παλιγγλωσσον, it would seem that Pindar hints at slanders circulated by Chromius' enemies, and that among these there may have been literary men, who affected the use of γλωσσαι, strange dialectic words. See *Introduction*, p. 6.

60. γείτονα] Pausanias (ix. 16) mentions that there was a so-called ὀλυνσοκοπεῖον Τειρεσίου in the region of the Electra Gate of Thebes, and the same writer (ix. 11) also mentions that Amphitryon dwelled by the Electra Gate. This

explains γείτονα. Near the same gate too was the Ismenion (ἀλαθῆα μαντίων θῶκον, *Pyth.* xi. 6), of which Tiresias was probably the μάντις (Dissen).

δὴ κάλεσεν] This reading is due to Bergk. The reading of the best mss. is δ' ἐκάλεσαν; that of B₂ DV and the Moschopuleans δ' ἐκκάλεσαν is clearly a correction for the sake of the metre and probably has no independent authority. Most editors read with Triclinius δ' ἐκκάλεσεν. It is just possible that the plural form of the mss. may be right and that Pindar may have represented the same persons who had brought the news to Amphitryon as having called forth Tiresias.

Διὸς ὑψίστου κ.τ.λ.] *The eminent interpreter of Zeus most high, the true seer, Tiresias.*

61. ὀρθόμαντις] Formed by Pindar as the opposite of ψευδόμαντις. Compare σεμνόμαντις, a coinage of Sophocles, *O. T.* 556.

ὁ δὲ Φοῖ κ.τ.λ.] ὁ is Tiresias, οἷ is Amphitryon: but the subject of ὁμιλήσει is Heracles.

Translate: *And he declared to him and all his host, what fortunes shall attend the boy, and how many uncouth provokers he shall have slain on the dry land, and how many on the sea.*

τύχαις refers to the destiny of Heracles after all his labours have been accomplished, as described in the last lines of the ode, and κτανῶν is aorist in reference to ὁμιλήσει. Mr Fennell explains κτανῶν as 'the participle of the gnomic aorist referring to sundry points of the time covered by the principle verb', and equates ὅσους κτανῶν with καὶ πολλοὺς κτενεῖ.

ὅσους μὲν ἐν χέρσῳ κτανών,
ὅσους δὲ πόντῳ θήρας αἰδροδίκας·

ἀντ. δ'.

καί τινα σὺν πλαγίῳ

ἀνδρῶν κόρῳ στείχοντα τὸν ἐχθρότατον

65

φᾶσέ νιν πώσειν μόρον.

καὶ γὰρ ὅταν θεοὶ ἐν πεδίῳ Φλέγρας Γιγάντεσσιν μάχαν

63. αἰδροδίκας] The best comment on this word is the Homeric line quoted by Dissen (ι 215), ἀνδρα οὔτε δίκας εὖ εἶδῶτα οὔτε θέμιστας. For θήρας the same editor compares Archilochus, frag. 88 (ed. Bergk) σοὶ δὲ θηρίων ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει, but Pindar doubtless chose the word to suggest that the exploit of the infant in slaying the κνώδαλα was typical of his future achievements.

64—66. καὶ τινα κ.τ.λ.] And he said that he would give many a one who walked with crooked envy a draught of direst doom to drink.

With the reading of the MSS. δώσειν this sentence has no construction. Most of the changes which have been proposed, beginning with Boeckh's μόρῳ, seem uncritical. The most ignorant scribe was so familiar with the fact that δίδωμι takes a dative, that his tendency would have been to substitute a dative for an accusative rather than to do the reverse. If Pindar wrote μόρῳ, or (as Kayser would have it) πανεχθροτάτῳ μόρῳ, no reason can be assigned for the corruption.

There can be no doubt, I think, that the error lies in δώσειν and in δώσειν only. In fact even if the MSS. gave μόρῳ, I should feel confident that Pindar did not use such a weak expression as δίδοναι μόρῳ. The words in *Olymp.* II. 82 Κύκνον τε θανάτῳ πόρεν do not support it; πόρεν (connected as it is with πιπρώσκω, πέπρωμαι) is a very different word from δίδωμι. I may illustrate what I mean by a similar case in English; to give death would be an intolerably bald expression for to slay, (except there were some special reason for representing death as a gift) and it

could not be supported by such a phrase as to deal death. Another difference between the present passage and the verse in the Second Olympian is that θάνατος may be personified, μόρος hardly.

I conclude therefore that δώσειν has taken the place of some unfamiliar word which it closely resembled, and I restore πώσειν, Aeolic for πίσειν, future of πιπίσκω, just as πῶ, πῶθι are Aeolic for πίθι, drink! (Alcaeus, 54 A. B. *ap.* Bergk, *P. L. G.*, χαῖρε καὶ πῶ τάνδε. δεῦρο σύμπωθι), πῶνῳ for πίνῳ. Pindar uses the future πίσω in the 5th Isthmian, l. 74, but this circumstance would not be an objection to his using πώσω here. In that passage πίσω takes the double accusative: πίσω σφε Δίρκας ἄγρὸν ὕδωρ.

This description of Heracles' punishment of the envious corresponds to the lines in the second strophe concerning the envious foes of Chromius who are thwarted by him and his friends, as has been pointed out in the *Introduction* and in the notes on ll. 24 and 25. It may be added that ὕδωρ φέρειν there may perhaps be taken up by πώσειν here. Bucketfuls of water quenched the καπνός of the cavillers; Heracles quenches the κόρος of the crooked walkers by a draught of death.

66. νῦν] See *Olymp.* VI. 62; *Pyth.* IV. 36.

67. καὶ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Aye, he told that when the gods on the plain of Phlegra stand against the giants in battle, their foes shall have their bright tresses mingled with Earth's dust under the potency of that hero's whizzing bolts. Heracles is represented as a knight-errant against

ἀντιάσωσιν, βελέων ὑπὸ ῥιπαῖσι κείνου φαιδίμαν γαῖα πεφύρ-
σεσθαι κόμαν

ἔνεπεν· αὐτὸν μὲν ἐν εἰράνῃ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν σχερῶ ἔπ. δ'.
ἀσυχίαν καμάτων μεγάλων ποινὰν λαχόντ' ἐξαίρετον 70

κόρος, and his championship of the gods against the giants is one instance; hence καὶ γάρ. μάχαν ἀντιάσωσιν is equivalent to μάχαν ἀντίον μάχεσθαι, *to engage in a battle against*. Dissen compares πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξίων, Soph. *Trach.* 159, but the Pindaric expression is hardly so bold. Pindar uses ὑπαντιάω in *Pyth.* viii. 11.

Professor Jebb in his essay on Pindar (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, III. 179) notes that "the Gigantomachia adorned the pediment of the Megarian 'Treasury' at Olympia", as an instance of "how Pindar and the sculptors were working in the same field".

Φλέγρας] on the isthmus of Pallene.

68. ῥιπαῖσι] ῥιπαί is used by Pindar of winds and waters *Pyth.* ix. 48, κυμάτων ῥιπὰς ἀνέμων τε *Pyth.* iv. 195; ὅσσ' ἀγλαὰ χθὼν πόντου τε ῥιπαὶ φέρουσιν fr. 220, 3; of a lyre's *waves of melody*, τεαῖς ῥιπαῖσι (addressed to χρυσέα Φόρμιγξ) κατασχόμενος *Pyth.* i. 10. In poetical value it answers very nearly to our *influence*. ῥιπαὶ ἀστρων (Sophocles, *Electra*, 106) are the influences of the stars, suggesting at the same time the visible signs of the influence—the twinklings. And so in Pindar fr. 166 ἀνδροδάμαντα δ' ἐπεὶ Φῆρες δάεν ῥιπὰν μελιαδέος οἴνου, ῥιπὰ connotes the influence of the wine, visible as it were in its sparkling. If we had to render in Greek Shakspeare's 'skye influences' or Milton's

'With store of ladies, whose bright eyes
Rain influence'

ῥιπαὶ would be a suitable word to use.

φαιδίμαν γαῖα πεφύρσεσθαι κόμαν] I believe that Mezger's novel interpretation of these words 'The earth shall have her bright hair soiled' (*es werde der Erde das glänzende Haar besudelt sein*) is highly

improbable, for, if Pindar had meant to say that, he would have almost inevitably written γαλας... The familiar use of φύρω with the dative as in δάκρυσι εἴματ' ἔφυρον (Ω 162) renders a 'dativus commodi' intolerably ambiguous. Moreover φαίδιμος, which, as far as we know, was always applied to the bodies of gods or heroes, would hardly have been used to describe the plants and grass of the Earth, even though the foliage were conceived as her hair. It may be said that φύρειν γαῖα is a strange expression for φύρειν κόνει (Eur. *Hec.* 496 κόνει φύρουσα κára), but the choice of γαῖα is determined here by the context; the Giants are the sons of the Earth and when they fall their locks mingle with their mother's dust.

φαιδίμαν] This Homeric word is used of the *bright visage* of a god assuming human form in *Pyth.* iv. 28 φαιδίμαν πρόσψιν.

πεφύρσεσθαι] A perfect future which occurs only here.

69. τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον] ἅπας is not equivalent to πᾶς. Both words connote *all the parts conceived as one*; but πᾶς emphasises all the parts, ἅπας makes the unity prominent. Cp. *Nem.* iv. 83; vii. 56; viii. 20; v. 16.

χρόνον ἐν σχερῶ] The second syllable of χρόνον is treated as long; compare ἔδραμῶν above in l. 51. ἐν σχερῶ expresses a line without a break; each moment of happy rest holds to another (ἔχεται). Compare *Nem.* xi. 39; and *Isthm.* v. 22 ἐκατόμπεδοι ἐν σχερῶ (*continuous*) κέλευθοι.

70. μεγάλων] This word takes us back, as Mezger has pointed out, to l. 34 where the poet introduces the story of

ὀλβίοις ἐν δώμασι, δεξάμενον θαλεράν "Ηβαν ἄκοιτιν καὶ γάμον
δαίσαντα, παρ Δι Κρονίδα σεμνὸν αἰνήσειν σταθμόν.

Heracles. *μεγάλοις* and *μεγάλων* occur each in the second line of an epode and in the same foot. ('Dass aber der Dichter diese so wortreich gepriesene selige Ruhe in Causalzusammenhang mit der Bewährung der angeborenen Tüchtigkeit in Mühe und Noth gesetzt wissen will, dürfte daraus vorgehen, dass er an den betreffenden Punkten v. 34 und 70 μέγας zweimal in die gleiche Stelle der Epode setzt', Mezger, p. 111.) For the significance of the artifice here see *Introduction* to this ode.

ποιάν] *meed* or *recompense*. Compare *Pyth.* i. 59 κελαδῆσαι ποιάν (*meed of praise*) τεθρίππων.

71. *θαλεράν]* This word expresses the *eternal youth and fairness* of the immortals, an idea which is personified in the Grace Thaleia. Compare note on line 2.

γάμον δαίσαντα] a 'Homeric phrase'; see T 299.

72. Δί] The mss. give Διῦ. I follow

Heyne and Bergk in writing it as a monosyllable, to suit its metrical value.

αἰνήσειν] For the meaning I may refer to the *Introduction* to this ode, p. 7.

σταθμόν] The best mss. have *δόμον*, others have *γάμον*. It seems clear that neither reading can be right; *γάμον* was introduced from the preceding line, and *δόμον* is hardly more than a repetition of *δώμασι*. The choice lies between two readings: Pauw's *νομόν* and Bergk's *σταθμόν*. For *νομόν* it may be urged that a scholiast seems to have read *νόμον* (τὴν διανέμεσιν τὴν παρὰ θεοῖς ἐπαινέσειν); but Bergk's proposal is strongly supported by *Isthm.* vi. 45

δεσπότην ἐθέλοντ' ἐς οὐρανοῦ σταθμούς
ἐλθεῖν μεθ' ὁμάγυριν Βελλεροφόνταν
Ζηνός,

and *Olymḡ.* xi. 92 ὅταν...εἰς' Αἶδα σταθμόν
ἀνὴρ ἴκηται. Moreover *σεμνὸν σταθμόν* is a felicitous suggestion of ἄμπνευμα *σεμνὸν*, the opening words of the ode.

ADDITIONAL NOTE. *Nemean* i. 13.

I am not sure that the usual interpretation of *σπεῖρε* in this passage is true. 'Scatter' is a secondary sense of the verb, derived from the meaning 'sow'; it is not the primary meaning from which 'sow' is derived. The original meaning, I believe, was 'to set in a certain order, range'; but in order to establish this, I must ask the reader to consider for a moment the Latin *sero* 'I sow'. It is generally supposed that this present form belongs to the same family as *sevi*, *satum*, *semen*, and etymologists attempt to explain it as a reduplicated present. If such, the reduplication must be internal or 'broken';

for if it were regular, the word would necessarily be **siso*, **sīro*, and **sīro* could not become *sero*, all the more as there already existed a *sero* of different meaning. A 'broken reduplication' in the present tense is an extremely doubtful assumption. I submit that *sero* 'I sow, plant' is the same word as *sero* 'I twine' (εἶρω), the original meaning being *arrange, set in a row*; seed is sown along furrows, as cords or flowers or leaves are plaited in a chain. Now when we compare *σπεῖρα*, a coil or twisted cable, and *σπάρτον*, a rope, with *σπείρω*, *σπαρτός*, the idea suggests itself strongly that here too we

have the same development of meanings; and the two cases mutually confirm each other. The original signification of *σπείρω* I suppose to have been 'to arrange or draw in a line', and like *sero* it might be developed in the sense of sowing or in the sense of twining. It is perhaps hardly necessary to remark that Latin *spira* does not invalidate the connexion of *σπείρα* with *σπείρω*, as *spira* is clearly borrowed.

If these etymological considerations are correct, is it not possible that in *σπείρε*, in this passage, we have the link between *σπείρω sown* and *σπείρα coil*? If so, we might render, *Twine a bright wreath of song for the island &c.* Compare *Nem.* vii. 77 *εἶρειν στεφάνους ἐλαφρόν κ.τ.λ.*, a passage indeed which once suggested to me that the true reading here might be *εἶρε*.

NEMEAN II.

ODE IN HONOUR OF A VICTORY IN THE PANCRATION AT NEMEA WON BY TIMODEMUS OF AEGINA.

INTRODUCTION.

THE second Nemean Ode¹, composed to be sung in a procession, celebrated a victory in the pancration, won by Timodemus, the son of Timonous, an Athenian. The Timodemids were a family belonging to the deme of Acharnae; but Timonous lived in Salamis, the island associated with Telamon and Ajax, and there Timodemus was reared.

Athletic prowess was hereditary in this family, and there were many victories to boast of, including four Pythian, eight Isthmian, and seven Nemean crowns, besides successes passing number at the Athenian festival of Olympian Zeus. These victories might be taken as an indication that Timodemus, who had now gained his first great distinction in the really trying strain of the pancration contest, would win a Pythian and an Isthmian to set beside his Nemean wreath, thus walking in the way of his fore-fathers (*πατρίων καθ' ὁδόν*). Pindar suggests this hereditary obligation, as we may call it, by making his prophecy of the future career of Timodemus respond, in part, to his commemoration of the past achievements of the Timodemids. Thus:

- l. 9, *θάμα μὲν Ἴσθμιάδων δρέπεσθαι κάλλιστον ἄωτον ἐν Πυθίοισι τε νικᾶν*
l. 19, *παρὰ μὲν ὑψιμέδοντι Παρνασῷ τέσσαρας ἐξ ἀέθλων νίκας ἐκόμιξαν.*

And the very name of the family, borne also by the victor himself, might be regarded as an omen of honourable distinction; this omen moreover, *τιμῆς*, being discoverable in the father's name, *Timonous*, as well as in *Timodemus*.

¹ There is no indication of the date. Boeckh's connexion of this ode with frag. 75 (a dithyramb) is a mere guess; and even if the connexion had some foundation we could hardly take *πανδαίδαλόν τ' ἐκλέε'*

ἀγοράν of l. 5 as a proof that both poems were composed soon after the battle of Plataea, when the Athenians restored their city.

This thought,—that Timodemus' success is what might be looked for from a Timodemid and a son of Timonous,—is expressed indirectly by a mythical parallel.

It is meet that the Mountaineer (Orion) should rise at no long distance from the Mountain Maids, the Pleiads.

ἔστι δ' εὐικός
ὄρειᾶν γε Πελειάδων
μὴ τηλόθεν Ὠαρίων' ἀνείσθαι.

The fitness of the proximity of the constellations depends on the mountain-name of Orion and the mountain-associations—whereof indeed little information has survived—of the Pleiads, here conceived as Dove-maidens.

Prior commentators had perceived the play upon words, but Mezger first apprehended its significance in the context of the Ode. Timodemus follows as naturally in the wake of the Timodemids, as the mountain-hunter follows the mountain Doves. But a question still occurs, and Mezger has not answered it. There was surely some special fitness in this comparison, some motive for it; why is Timodemus compared to Orion, or rather, should we ask, to a star?

The solution of this question lies, I think, in the circumstance that Timodemids had already won seven victories at Nemea: ἑπτὰ δ' ἐν Νεμέᾳ. This number suggested to Pindar the conceit of the seven Pleiads, followed by Orion, a kindred constellation, to symbolize the group of seven Nemean victories, followed by the kindred achievement of Timodemus; and this conceit has been worked out with the utmost adroitness.

It must be observed that there is a double force in the word ἀνείσθαι¹ (for ἀνανείσθαι), which, besides its usual meaning *to rise*, of a heavenly body, could signify to *return*. Thus it might suggest the return of Timodemus from the scene of his victory, as well as the ascent of Orion; and this is confirmed by σὺν εὐκλέϊ νόστω, in l. 24, νόστος being connected in Pindar's mind with νείσθαι.

And moreover the Pleiads, who were daughters of Atlas, might seem not unsuitable emblems of a flock of pancratiasts, men of 'Atlantean shoulders'; inasmuch as endurance was the prime virtue of such athletes, and endurance was the proverbial quality of Atlas, supposed to be signified by his name. Remembering that *Alcyone* was one of the seven daughters, we find an allusion of this kind in the words

ὦ Τιμόδημε, σὲ δ' ἀλκά
παγκρατίου τλάθυμος ἀέξει.

It should be observed that ἀέξει pleads for such an allusion; for the subject of the verb in this sense of increasing or glorifying, should be not a quality, but a person. The expression is explained, if we apprehend a suggestion that Alcyone, daughter of Atlas, Might, daughter of Endurance, in abstract language—exerts a 'stellar virtue' on Timodemus. or, at least, that her faculty consents with his.

¹ See note on l. 12.

An education in Salamis too might be interpreted as a fortunate augury for a pancratiast. Boxing and wrestling are the games which partake of the nature of war, and 'Salamis, certainly, is able to rear a warrior', such as Ajax for example, whose weighty strength was felt by Hector at Troy.

'*Praise Zeus and withal the glorious return of Timodemus.*' These words at the end of the hymn, which begins and ends with Zeus, are a brief abstract of its theme,—the distinguished *nostos* or Coming Home of the victor from Nemea, where he was brought into a certain connexion with the highest of the gods. He came home to Salamis; but he also rose to a new home in a firmament named of honour, to move among a starry train.

METRICAL ANALYSIS.

STROPHE.

vv. 1—3.

υ — — υ υ υ — υ — Λ | ˘ . — υ υ — υ — — | ˘ υ — υ υ — υ ˘ υ — υ υ — . — Λ (16)

vv. 4, 5.

Ⲙ υ — υ υ υ — . ˘ — — υ υ — υ — . ˘ — — υ υ — . ˘ Λ | ˘ υ υ — υ — υ υ — υ (16)

Thus each strophe falls into two parts of an equal number of beats, provided we recognise that the end of the fourth line is a tetrapody, not a tripody—thus :

—κται πρῶ | τον Νεμε | αί • | ου Λ |

and that, in the same way, the last two syllables of the 3rd and corresponding lines are equivalent to two feet. The rhythm is logaoedic.

NEMEONIKAI B'.

ΤΙΜΟΔΗΜΩΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΙ

ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΙΑΣΤΗΙ.

Ὅθενπερ καὶ Ὀμηρίδαι στρ. α'.
 ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων ταπόλλ' αἰοιδοὶ
 ἄρχονται, Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου· καὶ ὅδ' ἀνήρ
 καταβολὰν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων νικαφορίας δέδεκται πρῶτον Νεμεαίου

1. ὅθενπερ κ.τ.λ.] *Even as Homerid minstrels most often begin their linked verses with a prelude in honour of Zeus; so likewise hath this man laid the first foundation for a tale of achievements in the sacred games, by receiving a crown in the song-fam'd grove of Nemean Zeus.*

In this strophe, without any detriment to the lucidity of his thought, Pindar has gracefully mixed two constructions. The Homerids mostly begin their epopees by hymning Zeus; with Zeus, similarly, this young man begins his career of victory. This comparison might have been expressed either ὅθεν—(Διὸς being the antecedent of ὅθεν) ἄρχονται, Διὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ καὶ ὅδ' ἀνήρ κ.τ.λ. or ὥσπερ—ἄρχονται Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου, (οὕτω) καὶ ὅδ' ἀνήρ κ.τ.λ. Pindar begins with ὅθεν and then goes on as if he had written ὥσπερ, this change being necessitated by the words Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου, which supply ὅθεν with an antecedent inapplicable to the second clause.

Mr Tyrrell may be right in suggesting

that Ὀμηρίδαι here simply means *poets* (successors of the Poet) and not specially the Homerid school of Chios. For ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων cf. Hesiod (frag. 227)

ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ Ὀμηρος
 αἰοιδοὶ
 μέλομεν ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες
 αἰοιδῆν
 Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον ὃν τέκε
 Λητώ.

2. ταπόλλ'] Schol. ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀεὶ ἀπὸ Διὸς ἤρχοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ Μουσῶν.

3. ἄρχονται] compare note on *Nem.* 1. 8, above.

ἀνήρ] note the quantity, as in *ἀνέρες*.

4. καταβολάν] See above *Nem.* 1. 8, note. The scholiast compares Callimachus fr. 196, Ἀρσινόης, ᾧ ξεῖνε, γάμον καταβάλλομ' αἰδεῖν. It may be that καταβολὰ was a technical term for the proem of an ode or nome.

ἱερῶν] MSS. ἱερᾶν. I am not sure that editors have been right in restoring ἱερῶν, though it was the reading of the scholiast; the cause of the corruption is not ex-

ἐν πολυῦμνῆτῳ Διὸς ἄλσει.

5

ὀφείλει δ' ἔτι, πατρίαν

στρ. β'.

εἵπερ καθ' ὁδόν νιν εὐθυπομπὸς

αἰὼν ταῖς μεγάλαις δέδωκε κόσμον Ἀθάναις,

θαμὰ μὲν Ἰσθμιάδων δρέπεσθαι κάλλιστον ἄωτον ἐν Πυθίοισι

τε νικᾶν

plained. I am almost inclined to read *ιέραν* (with *καταβολάν*). Timodemus' victory is compared to a proem in honour of Zeus, and thus its religious side is rendered prominent, it is *ιέρα*.

νικαφορίας] a career of success.

δέδεκται πρῶτον] has begun by winning. Compare *Pyth.* I. 80 ὕμνον τὸν ἐδέξαντ' ἄμφ' ἀρετᾶ, and *ibid.* 100 στέφανον ὕψιστον δέδεκται, *Olymp.* II. 48 Ὀλυμπία μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς γέρας ἔδεκτο, VI. 27 στεφάνους δέξαντο. Commentators generally take *δέδεκται* here in the sense of *winning a victory* as we say, but all the examples cited from Pindar fail to prove this use. *δέχομαι* can only be employed of *receiving the rewards of victory* (whether crowns or poems), and so here the idea of *καταβολάν νικαφορίας* is (not the first of a series of victories, but) the first of a series of victory-odes. The meaning of *καταβολά*, and the choice of the adjective *πολυῦμνῆτῳ* in l. 5, confirm this view.

5. *πολυῦμνῆτῳ*] A Pindaric word equivalent to *πολύῦμνος*, *theme of many hymns*.

6. *ὀφείλει δ' ἔτι κ.τ.λ.*] *It needs must be that the son of Timonoeos shall cull yet the bloom and breath, most fair, of Isthmian glories and Pythian victories, since time wafting him straight along the way which his fathers went hath given him as an ornament to great Athens. It is meet that the rising of the Mountain hunter should not be far from the Mountain Peleids.*

ὀφείλει] Impersonal; *it is due*. Schol. Ἀριστάρχος οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ Ὀφείλει ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ πράγματός φησιν, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι· ὀφειλόμενον δ' ἔτι ἐστίν.

πατρίαν] That is, of the Timodemidae.

8. *αἰών*] *αἰών* is not synonymous with *μοῖρα* and it is a mistake to render it *fate* (*fatum* Dissen), although the ideas are intimately connected. It is the time of life. The Greeks connected it with *ἄημι*, and here this connexion is prominent, for *εὐθυπομπὸς* implies a breeze. The cogency (*ὀφείλει*) depends partly on this etymology. See *Appendix A*, note 2. Compare *Isthm.* III. 18

αἰὼν δὲ κυλινδομέναις ἀμέραις ἀλλ' ἄλλοτ' ἐξέλλαξεν,
the wind of time causeth divers changes to the rolling days (of life's sea).

9. Ἰσθμιάδων] agrees with *νικᾶν*.

δρέπεσθαι ἄωτον] *ἄωτος*, a favourite word of Pindar, which he uses in many ways; but in all the passages, where it occurs, it preserves its proper force, somewhat obscured by the hackneyed translation 'flower'. *ἄωτος* means the fine nap of a cloth, which might be described as *bloom*; and this explains the usurpation of the floral metaphor. The following passages will elucidate the force of *ἄωτος*, but I must also refer to *Appendix A*, notes 2 and 3. *Isth.* I. 51 εὐαγορηθεὶς (the victor) κέρδος ὕψιστον δέκεται, *πολιατᾶν καὶ ξένων γλώσσας ἄωτον*, *the fine praise breathed from the tongues of citizens and strangers.*

Isth. VI. 18 ἀμνάμονες δὲ βροτοί

ὅ τι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον
κλυταῖς ἐπέων ῥοαῖς ἐξίκηται
ῥυγίν,

whatever unlinked with sounding streams of verses attains not to the height

Τιμονόου παῖδ'. ἔστι δ' εἰκοὸς

10

ὀρειᾶν γε Πελειάδων

στρ. γ'.

of exquisite poetry, passeth out of the minds of men.

Here and in some other cases *exquisite* is perhaps the fittest rendering of this gloss of perfection. For example in *Isth.* VII. 18 χρῆ δ'—Αἰγίνα Χαρίτων ἄωτον προνέμειν, *it is meet that Art (the Graces) should pay Aegina an exquisite tribute*. Again in *Pyth.* X. 51 ἐγκωμίων γὰρ ἄωτος ὕμνων ἐπ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὥτε μέλισσα θύνει λόγον (here flower would be ludicrously incongruous), *the fine art of hymns of praise darteth like a bee, from tale to tale* (but see *App. A*, note 2). And in *Ol.* I. 14, ἀγλαΐζεται δὲ καὶ μουσικᾶς ἐν ᾧτῳ, we may render *he courts grace too in exquisite kinds of music*.

If we had to translate into Greek Shakspeare's "culling the principal of all the deer" (*Henry VI.*, Part II. Act 3, sc. 1, l. 4), or 'the flower of the flock', ἄωτος would be the very word; cf. *ναυτῶν ἄωτος Pyth.* IV. 188, and see *Nem.* VIII. 9. Or again ἄωτος would be suitable for rendering Tennyson's "the roof and crown of things": compare *Ol.* II. 8 where Theron is called εὐωνύμων πατέρων ἄωτον, the qualities of his ancestor, as it were, achieving their ultimate and crowning bloom in him. The phrase 'plumage of fire', by which Flaubert suggests an ideal prose style, might be done into Greek by *πυρὸς ἄωτος*. Pindar calls the finest bloom which the flower of life reveals ζωᾶς ἄωτος (*Isth.* IV. 12; cf. *Pyth.* IV. 131 δραπὼν ἱερὸν εὐζώας ἄωτον). Now we are in a position to see the exact meaning of such phrases as ὕμνον ἀκαμαντοπῶδων ἄωτον ἵππων (*Ol.* III. 4), χειρῶν ἄωτον ἐπινικον (*Ol.* VIII. 75), the highest excellence which feet (or hands) can realise (cf. *Ol.* V. 1). ἄωτον στεφάνων in *Isth.* V. 4 might be rendered *crown of crowns*. In the present passage *δρῦεσθαι* determines

the meaning *bloom*. But see *App. A*, note 2.

10. Τιμονόου παῖδ'] A misapprehension of the impersonal construction of *ὀφείλει* led to the insertion of a full stop after *νικᾶν* (l. 9) and the connexion of *Τιμονόου παῖδ'* with the following sentence (with the reading *ὀρειᾶν τε*).

11. ὀρειᾶν] The home of the Pleiad sisters, daughters of Atlas and Pleione, was Mt Cyllene in Arcadia. Fleeing from the pursuit of Orion they were changed into doves and finally became a constellation.

The ancient interpreters found considerable difficulty in explaining *ὀρειᾶν*, as will be seen from the following extracts from the scholia.

ἡ τῶν ὀρειῶν ἐπειδὴ ὁ Ἄτλας ὁ τῶν Πλειάδων πατὴρ ὁμώνυμα ἔσχευ ὄρη· ἡ ὅτι ὄροι εἰσὶ τοῦ ἀμήτου· ἡ λιτότερον τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς εἰσιν οἱ ἀστέρες.

οἱ δὲ οὕτω· καθὼς Πελειάδας αὐτὰς εἶπε καὶ ὀρείας· αἱ γὰρ περιστρεφάμεναι ὀρειᾶν εἰσιν· εἰώθε δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος ταῖς ὁμωνυμίαις ἐπαναπαύεσθαι ἔθελ' ἰδίῳ.

ἐνιοὶ δέ, διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ Ταύρου κείσθαι, κατὰ ὕφεςιν τοῦ ὕψους λέγεσθαι κ.τ.λ.

ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Κυλλήνης ἐν ἣ ἐτράφησαν.

Crates wrote *θερεῖαν Πελειάδων*, but (as a scholiast observes) they rise in winter as well as in summer. From one of the scholia we learn that Simonides called the Pleiad Maia οὐρεία; two lines are given, one imperfectly,

Μαϊάδος οὐρέας ἐλικοβλεφάρου

Κυλλήνης ἐν ὄρεσσι θεῶν κήρυκα τέχ' Ἑρμῆν.

(Tzetzes read ἐλικοβλεφαρίο γενεθλον, in his note on Lycophron, 219.)

The names of the Pleiads are given in the following lines, whose authorship is uncertain (some ascribing them to Hesiod, fr. 10 b, ed. Flach):

μη τηλόθεν Ὀαρίων ἀνείσθαι.

καὶ μὲν ἡ Σαλαμὶς γε θρέψαι φῶτα μαχατὰν

δυνατός. ἐν Τροίᾳ μὲν Ἐκτωρ Αἴαντος ἄκουσεν· ὦ Τιμόδημε,
σὲ δ' ἀλκὰ

Τηϋγέτη τ' ἐρέεσσα καὶ Ἥλέκτρῃ κυανῶ-
πις

Ἀλκύνῃ τε καὶ Ἀστερόπῃ δὴ τε Κελαι-
νῶ

Μαῖά τε καὶ Μερόπῃ, τὰς γείνατο φαίδι-
μος Ἄτλας.

The name Τηϋγέτη combined with the fact that they were the daughters of Atlas seems enough to explain the epithet ὀρειᾶν.

γ[ε] The particle shows that the stress of the argument rests on ὀρειᾶν; because they are mountain nymphs, ὀρειά, the hunter of the mountain Ὀαρίων moves near them. For this force of γε compare Eurip. *Bacchae*, 926 ἢ τὴν Ἀγαυῆς ἐστά-
ναι, μητρὸς γ' ἐμῆς (seeing that she is my mother). So in *Isth.* v. 4 Pauw's restoration τίν γ' for τῶν is certainly right.

12. ἀνείσθαι] This is the reading of B, B, D; and in a scholium on *Nem.* i. 3, where the line is quoted, B, B r f s w have ὠαρίων ἀνείσθαι. The other MSS. have Ὀαρίωνα νείσθαι, which is explained in the scholium by πορεύεσθαι. Editors before Bergk adopted νείσθαι, but Bergk showed that ἀνείσθαι is for ἀνανείσθαι, *oriri*; compare κ 192 οὐδ' ὅπῃ ἥελιος φαεσίμβροτος εἶσ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν οὐδ' ὅπῃ ἀννέται. It is obvious that it is much more likely that the difficult ἀνείσθαι should have become νείσθαι than that the easier νείσθαι should have been altered to ἀνείσθαι, and therefore I cannot hesitate to accept the reading of B, B, D. It has been pointed out in the *Introduction* that the verb has a secondary import, in regard to Timodemus, who is compared to Orion.

13. καὶ μὲν ἡ Σαλαμὶς γε] *Aye and Salamis is potent to rear a fighting man.* I have attempted, by rendering *is potent* instead of *is able*, to arrest the attention in somewhat the same way as Pindar does by δυνατός for feminine δυνατά.

14. Ἐκτωρ Αἴαντος ἄκουσεν] *At Troy Hector heard Ajax like a rushing wind.* Αἴας, like αἰών in l. 8, is conceived as a wind (ἀνέμων ἀτάλαντος ἀέλλῃ). Schol. ἤσθητο τῇ πείρᾳ, ὡς καὶ Ὅμηρος [*Λ* 532]· τοὶ δὲ πλεγγῆς αἰόντες, ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰσθόμενοι. ἔοικε δὲ ὁ Πίνδαρος τὸ παρ' Αἴαντος ῥηθὲν πρὸς Ἑλληνας ὑπονένοσηκέναι εἰρησθαι πρὸς Ἐκτορα· φησὶ γὰρ [*Η* 198]

ἔπει οὐδ' ἐμὲ νῆϊδά γ' οὕτως

ἐλπομαι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γενέσθαι τε τρα-
φόμεν τε.

εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις τῇ πείρᾳ μεμαθηκέναι ὑποστήσεται τὸν Ἐκτορα, ὡς ἐπιτηδεύς ἢ Σαλαμὶς ἔχει πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἡρώων γένεσιν.

Editors have failed in their attempts to explain ἄκουσεν. The meaning supposed to be required is expressed in the scholium ἤσθητο τῇ πείρᾳ 'learned by experience', but such a sense cannot possibly be elicited from ἄκουσεν, which would rather mean the reverse ('knew by hearing only'). The Homeric πλεγγῆς αἰόντες proves nothing for ἀκούω, nor will it avail to adduce ὑπακούμεν αὐγαῖς ἀελίου, *Olymp.* iii. 24, to show that ἀκούω could mean *to feel the might of*. Nor will the word bear the interpretation which Mezger proposes as an alternative: *he hearkened to him*, that is, listened for his battle-cry, in order to bring succour to the point of danger. But when we apprehend that Αἴας by virtue of his name is conceived as a blast (ἄημι), we see that ἄκουσε bears its ordinary meaning *heard* (of a sound). Pindar chose the word in order to bring out the play on Αἴας. His object was to suggest a connexion between the Timodemids and Aeacids.

Though I believe the text to be sound, I suggest as possible

Ἐκτωρ Αἴαντος ἔκουσεν·

ἔκουσεν being an aorist from κοῦ- (κοῖω) like ἔλουσα from λοῦ- (λούω). The form

παγκρατίου τλάθυμος ἀέξει.

15

Ἀχάρναι δὲ παλαίφατον

στρ. δ'.

εὐάνορες· ὅσσα δ' ἀμφ' ἀέθλοις,

Τιμοδημίδαι ἐξοχώτατοι προλέγονται.

παρὰ μὲν ὑψιμέδοντι Παρνασῶ τέσσαρας ἐξ ἀέθλων νίκας
ἐκόμιζαν·

ἀλλὰ Κορινθίων ὑπὸ φωτῶν

20

ἐν ἐσλοῦ Πέλοπος πτυχαῖς

στρ. ε'.

ὀκτῶ στεφάνοις ἔμιχθεν ἤδη·

ἐπτὰ δ' ἐν Νεμέῳ, τὰ δ' οἴκοι μάσσον' ἀριθμοῦ,

Διὸς ἀγῶνι. τόν, ὦ πολῖται, κωμάξατε Τιμοδήμῳ σὺν εὐκλεΐ
νόστῳ·

ἐκόησε occurs in Callimachus frag. 53. That κοῶ was used not only in the sense of νοῶ but also in the sense of αἰσθάνομαι is proved by glosses of Hesychius: κοῶ· αἰσθάνομαι, κοεῖ· αἰσθάνεται, ἔκομεν· ἴδομεν, εὐρομεν, ἤσθόμεθα. (Compare κ(ο)ῶν· εἰδῶς, ἐκοάθη· ἐπενσήθη, ἐφωράθη, and ἐκοᾶμες· ἠκούσαμεν, ἐπυθόμεθα.) Bergk reads ἐπάϊσ' and points out that it was probably the reading of the scholiast. Hecker proposed ἐγεύσατ'.

15. **τλάθυμος**] *Staunch* Might in the pancration maketh thee great, O Timodemus. τλάθυμος expresses the endurance necessary for the feats of the pancration. I have explained in the *Introduction* the probable significance of this sentence. A comparison of the passages in which ἀέξω, αὔξω, αὐξάνω occur in Pindar shows that ἀλκά σέ ἀέξει would be an awkward expression, if ἀλκά did not imply some personal influence. I therefore conclude that ἀλκά alludes to Alcyone, the Pleiad, and that τλάθυμος, as it were 'τλάθυμος, suggests "Atlas.

16. **Ἀχάρναι**] *Long of yore is Acharnae famous for brave men*. Pindar uses the adjective εὐάνωρ of places; in the Homeric poems it is applied to wine and to arms. In *Ol.* I. 24 we read of the

colony of Lydian Pelops blessed with a fine race of men (ἐν εὐάνωρι Πέλοπος ἀποικία); in *Ol.* VI. 80 Arcadia is called εὐάνωρα; in *Nem.* x. 36 the Argives are εὐάνωρα λαόν.

17. **ὅσσα**] *But in all that appertaineth unto games the Timodemids are preferred for highest excellence.*

18. **προλέγονται**] Compare N 689 Ἀθηναίων προλελεγμένοι, quoted by the scholiast. *Prae cacteris nominantur*, Dissen; προκέκρυνται, schol.

19. **ὑψιμέδοντι**] *By the lordly height of Parnassus*. The adjective is generally applied to Zeus, as by Hesiod, *Theog.* 529.

20. **Κορινθίων**] The judges of the Isthmian games.

21. **ἐν...πτυχαῖς**] *In dells of Pelops*. Compare *Isthm.* III. 11 ἐν βάσσαισιν Ἴσθμοῦ, *ib.* VII. 63 Ἴσθμιον ἄν νάπος. Bergk's proposal πύλαις is unfortunate. πτυχαῖς is a touch of local colouring, like ὑψιμέδοντι Παρνασῶ.

23. **ἐπτὰ**] *And with seven crowns at Nemea*.

τὰ δ' οἴκοι] *But their achievements at home, at the games of Zeus, are beyond the compass of number*. *Him* (Zeus), O citizens, Timodemus biddeth you

ἀδυμελεῖ δ' ἐξάρχετε φωνᾶ.

25

hymn, and withal his own glorious home-coming. Begin the sweet vocal music.

οἴκοι] at Athens. The festival of Zeus, at which the Timodemids won so many victories, was the Athenian Olympia (so schol., Boeckh, Dissen &c.). Mezger thinks that these games must have been Diasia at either Salamis or Acharnae, of which we have no record. Reference to the Olympia he thinks is impossible, "weil es sich dann nicht erklären liesse, warum sich die Timodemiden von den übrigen athenischen Festspielen fern gehalten haben sollten". But Pindar's silence does not prove that Timodemids did not win prizes at other less important Athenian games. Observe too that τὰ δ' οἴκοι in 23 responds to μεγάλας Ἀθάναις in 8.

24. τόν] There can be no question that the MSS. reading is right and that τόν is Zeus. The honour of Zeus and the

praise of Timodemus' victory are to be the joint subject of the hymn. As in *Nemean* i. 8, 9, we have θεῶν κείνον σὺν ἀνδρὸς ἀρεταῖς, so here we have τὸν...σὺν εὐκλείῃ νόστῳ. Τιμοδῆμῳ is the dative of the person interested. For κωμάζω with accusative, compare *Nem.* x. 34. The σ form of the aorist occurs in *Nem.* xi. 28 κωμάσαις, ix. 1 κωμάσομεν. So Pindar uses also κομίξαις and κόμισον, ἐναρμόξαι and ἄρμωσαν, &c. He has ἐδόκησεν (*Pyth.* vi. 40) as well as ἔδοξα.

Bergk punctuates at ἀριθμοῦ, and joins Διὸς ἀγῶνι with the following words, referring it to the recent victory at Nemea; instead of τόν he reads τῶδ', that is, τῷδε ἐγκώμιον.

25. ἀδυμελεῖ] Compare *Isthm.* vi. 20 κώμαζ' ἔπειτεν ἀδυμελεῖ σὺν ὕμνῳ. For ἐξάρχετε compare Σ 51 Θέτις δ' ἐξῆρχε γόοιο, *Hesiod, Scut. Her.* 205, ἐξῆρχον αἰοιδῆς.

NEMEAN III.

ODE IN HONOUR OF A VICTORY IN THE PANCRATION WON AT NEMEA BY ARISTOCLIDES OF AEGINA.

INTRODUCTION.

THE modern theory of the hereditary transmission of qualities, which in this century is being worked out in so many directions, would have found a warm advocate in Pindar. For it is clear that this doctrine might be perverted by an upholder of aristocracies and monarchies in support of his political prejudices. And Pindar in his sympathies was thoroughly aristocratic, belonging himself to a distinguished family and associated in friendship with men of high position and with families of ancient name. He believed in the derivation of excellences, physical and moral, from the ancient heroes, to whom such families traced their descent; and he disdained the doctrine that excellences might be acquired. People of low position are outside his world; and those whose natural faculties do not reach a certain high level, he regards as doomed, in spite of all teaching, to abide for ever 'in the dark'. The world of men is divided, for him, into eagles and daws.

This principle dominated his mind, when he composed a hymn on a victory in the pancration at Nemea¹, won by an Aeginetan, Aristoclide, son of Aristophanes, whose remarkable achievements—at Megara and Epidaurus as well as at Nemea—in that trying contest beseeemed the comeliness of his strong limbs. His name *Aristoclide*, too, might strike his friends as a fair augury, to Pindar at least suggesting that the man was under the special patronage of *Clio*, the Muse whose name is of glory; and, with this thought, he associates her intimately with his hymn. Aristoclide had already reached the years of later manhood, and might seem to his contemporaries one of those few men who at every age realise an appropriate excellence.

The hymn opens with a picture of young men standing in Aegina on the banks of the Asopus stream, on the anniversary of the Nemean festival, ready to lift up their voices and waiting only for the arrival of the Muse; for it appears that Pindar had been tardy in executing the commission of Aristoclide². Victory thirsts for a draught of song; and in the latter end of the ode we shall see how Pindar describes the ingredients of the potion,

¹ As to the date of this ode we only know that it must have been composed before 457 B.C., when Aegina lost her independence.

² Compare *μαϊόμενοι*, l. 5, and *ὄψέ περ* l. 80.

'with many murmurs mix'd', which he offers to the lips of the victor. But here, with a characteristic change of metaphor (suggested by an etymology, he proceeds¹: 'song, a most propitious *minister* of crowns and brave deeds, --whereof do thou, O Muse, *minister* abundance, drawing from the store of my craft'.

This is the prelude; and now, under the auspices of Zeus, the hymn begins; a hymn in praise of one who is fair like a statue, and touched with the grace of art,—really recalling, perhaps, as he stood in the agora of Aegina, a statue of Onatas. And the exploits of Aristoclides are like unto his comely form, equally worthy of the time-honoured agora, associated with the Myrmidons of Achilles. For through the favour of Clio, whose virtue as it were passed into his name, Aristoclides behaved with dauntless hardihood at Nemea, and the blows which wounded him are salved by the hymn of triumph. And thus in marine metaphor,—addressed to the ears of the seafaring Aeginetans,—'the son of Aristophanes' has embarked in pinnaces of splendid prowess; but with the Greek instinct to moderation, the poet straightway marks the limit of the triumphant voyage by the pillars of Heracles, figuring probably the goal of an Olympic victory.

Here the first system of the Ode ends, and the next two systems are occupied with the mythical tales which Pindar has chosen to illustrate his theme. In the fourth and last system we return to Aristoclides and Aegina.

Having named the pillars of Heracles, the poet is moved to speak of the voyage of discovery made by that hero in the far west, where he reached the end of possible navigations, and reached it *alone*.

And here, having fully expressed what he would say, Pindar feigns to check himself, and to recall his imagination from its wanderings far at sea; for there are examples, awaiting it, at Aegina itself, Aeacid heroes, who can as punctually illustrate the truth which he wishes to convey. To speak of older men, for instance, Peleus—he who cut the supereminent spear—captured Iolcus *alone*,

μόνος ἄνευ στρατιᾶς,

and by hard wrestling captured Thetis. There was Telamon too, who, with Iolaus, slew Laomedon, and went against the Amazons, the fear that killeth never dulling the edge of his spirit.

And the lesson that is conveyed by these examples,—Heracles, Peleus and Telamon—is now, at the end of the second metrical system, clearly stated²:

'A man who hath the birthright of nobility prevaieth greatly; but he whose knowledge is a lesson learned is a man in darkness, whose thought is

¹ See note on l. 9. Mezger divides the hymn thus:

ἀρχά (1—25); κατατροπά (26—32); ὀμφαλός (32—64); μετακατατροπά (65—67); σφραγίς (68—84).

This practically corresponds to my

triple division.

² In these words Mezger finds the *Grundgedanke* of the hymn; p. 391. The mark, he says, of taught excellence is νοῦς ἀτελής (v. 42), that of innate excellence is τέλος ἐν πείρᾳ (v. 70).

as a veering gale, and who never cometh to port with unerring course, but with ineffectual mind tasteth a thousand excellences?

συγγενεῖ δέ τις εὐδοξία μέγα βρίθει·

ὅς δὲ διδάκτ' ἔχει ψεφηνὸς ἀνὴρ ἄλλοτ' ἄλλα πνέων οὔ ποτ' ἀτρεκεῖ
κατέβα ποδί, μυριῶν δ' ἀρετῶν ἀτελεῖ νόψ γέυεται.

In these lines 'the dark man' who never comes to port is contrasted with Heracles, in echoing words : for of Heracles it was said

l. 25. ὁπᾶ πόμπιμον κατέβαινε νόστου τέλος.

It is meant moreover that Aristoclide is worthy of comparison with each of these mythical ensamples; and this meaning is conveyed by Pindar's system of echoes. The *superiorities* of the victor, noted in l. 20,

ἀνορέαις ὑπερτάταις ἐπέβα,

are echoed in the *superlative* beasts subdued by Heracles, proving his own superlative qualities,

δάμασε δὲ θήρας—ὑπερόχους (l. 24),

and again in the *superlative* spear which Peleus cut on Mount Pelion (l. 33)

ὑπέραλλον αἰχμὰν ταμών.

The comparison between Aristoclide and Telamon is exhibited by the application of *περισθενής* to the pancration in l. 16, echoed in *εὐρυσθενής*¹ as the epithet of Telamon in l. 36.

We now come to the third system, in which the life of Achilles is sketched, both in childhood and in manhood. We see him, a child of six years, in the cave of Chiron, dealing death to lions and boars with a small javelin and dragging the bodies, too heavy for him yet, to the feet of the Centaur; and again we see him by virtue of his fleet feet overtaking and slaying stags without aid of hounds or snares, and in the background Artemis and Pallas Athene standing, amazed.

He was nourished in all things fitting his condition by Chiron, that trainer of divine young men, who had brought up Jason and Asclepius, and who compassed the marriage of Peleus with the nymph of the bright well-head. And this training prepared him for fighting with the Lycians and Dardanians at Troy, where his great achievement was to slay Memnon, the son of Morning, and cousin of the inspired Helenus.

Pindar leaves us in no doubt that he is comparing Aristoclide to Achilles. Chiron, who is a master in the healing art, bears, it is suggested, the same relation to Achilles, as the poet, who heals by his song, bears to Aristoclide. 'Chiron of deep thoughts'

βαθυμήτα Χείρων

is said to have taught Asclepius the art of dispensing remedies with gentle hands;

φαρμάκων³ δίδαξε μαλακόχειρα νόμον.

¹ Both these adjectives are unusual. logy of Χείρων.

² μαλακόχειρα suggests the etymo-

³ φάρμ-ακον: φέρειν ἄκος; see note.

Now these words are intended to recall the curious description of the pancratiast's victory (ll. 15, &c.)

ἀγορὰν—οὐκ—ἐμίανε—μαλαχθεῖς—
καματωδέων δὲ πλαγᾶν

ἄκος ὑγιηρὸν ἐν γε βαθυπέδῳ Νεμέᾳ τὸ καλλίνικον φέρειν¹.

The deep soil of *Nemai*, 'the dispenser', provides a remedy, like the deep mind of Chiron, but Chiron himself rather corresponds to the poet² as is indicated by *βαθυμήτα*, which recalls *μήτιος ἀμᾶς ἄπο* of l. 9.

Other intentions of Pindar in this story of Achilles will be elucidated by the fourth system, to which we may now pass. By the 'far shining star' of the *Acacidæ*, fixed at Troy by their achievements there, especially by this victory of Achilles over Memnon, we are lit back, as it were, to the young men singing at Aegina and the proper theme of the hymn.

The fourth system is parallel to the first :

l. 10. ἄρχε δ' οὐρανῶ—κρέοντι—
ὔμνον.

l. 5. νεανίαι σέθεν ὅπα μαϊόμενοι.

l. 12. (ὔμνον—), χαρίεντα δ' ἔξει
πόνον χώρας ἄγαλμα.

l. 7. ἀεθλονικία δὲ μάλιστ' αἰοιδᾶν
φιλεῖ.

l. 3. ἴκεο Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγιναν.

l. 13. χώρας ἄγαλμα.

l. 65. Ζεῦ—ἀγὼν τὸν ὕμνος ἔβαλεν.

l. 66. ὅπῃ νέων.

l. 66. ὕμνος—ἐπιχώριον χάρμα
κελαδέων.

l. 67. βοᾶ δὲ νικαφόρῳ σὺν Ἀριστο-
κλείδᾳ πρέπει.

l. 68. ὅς τάνδε νᾶσον.

l. 69. ἀγλαῖσι μερίμναις.

Moreover the thirst of l. 6 is assuaged in the honeyed draught of ll. 76 sqq., μέλι in 77 echoing *μελιγαρύων* in l. 4, and πόμ' αἰοίδιμον echoing αἰοιδᾶν of l. 7. All these echoes mark, as it were audibly, a train of thought returning to the places from which it set out.

Aristoclide is said to have wedded the island of Aegina to Renown, and the Theorion or sacred college of Apollo to a society of bright Ambitions. The remarkable words are :

ὅς τάνδε νᾶσον εὐκλέϊ προσέθηκε λόγῳ
69 καὶ σεμνὸν ἀγλαῖσι μερίμναις
Πυθίου Θεάριον³.

Now ἀγλαῖσι μερίμναις responds to ἀγλαόκρανον, the epithet of Thetis, in the corresponding line of the 2nd antistrophos; of Chiron it is said,

56 νύμφευσε δ' αὖτις ἀγλαόκρανον
Νηρέος θύγατρα.

Aristoclide is said to marry Aegina to εὐκλεῆς Λόγος, and the college of Theori to a company of ἀγλαῖ Μέριμναι, just as Chiron married Thetis ἀγλαόκρανος to Peleus. What is the meaning of this? How is it that the

¹ φέρειν too is echoed in γόνον φέρτα-
τον (as it were, *most winning*) in l. 57.
See Appendix A, note 3.

² This comparison was noticed by Lud-
wig.

³ See note on this passage.

victor, who has already been compared both to Peleus and to Achilles, is now compared to Chiron? The puzzle is solved in the following lines.

Pindar proceeds to set forth that each of the three ages of man, childhood, early manhood, and elder age, has a proper excellence of its own; and besides these there is another excellence, not confined to a particular time of life, namely wisdom. Thus there are four excellences or 'virtues' in mortal life. The childhood of Achilles exhibited the first, and his manhood the second. Of advanced age Peleus was the example, as is pointed out by a responsion¹,

l. 32. παλαιαῖσι δ' ἐν ἀρεταῖς.

l. 73. ἐν παλαιτέροισι...

.....τέσσαρας ἀρετάς.

It has already been observed that Aristoclide is compared to all these heroes; the implication being that he inherited the ἀρετά appropriate to each age. For his perfection, it only remains that he should have the fourth excellence, wisdom. Now it is manifest that this excellence would be well illustrated by βαθυμήτα Χείρων; and therefore, by comparing Aristoclide to Chiron, Pindar would imply that he possessed wisdom. This is the solution of the problem.

But in regard to these virtues it must be observed that the fourth, which bids man do wisely that which he does, may be possessed at any age. And Pindar takes care to indicate that all the heroes, whom he has celebrated in the hymn, were endowed with this faculty of thought. Of Heracles it is said

καὶ γὰρ φράδασσε (l. 26).

The wisdom of Peleus is alluded to by the responsion already mentioned. Telamon is praised because

οὐδέ νῦν ποτε φόβος ἀνδροδάμῃς ἔπασεν ἀκμὰν φρενῶν.

And of Achilles it is related that in his childhood Chiron nourished him

ἐν ἀρμένιοισι πᾶσι θυμὸν αὔξων²,

and of his resolve to slay Memnon the curious expression is used

ἐν φρασὶ πάξαιτο.

The words of l. 75 φρονεῖν δ' ἐνέπει τὸ παρκείμενον elucidate all these phrases³.

Finally the poet turns to Aristoclide¹, and solemnly offers him, to assuage

¹ This responsion is noticed by Mezger.

² On the significance of this passage I must refer the reader to *Appendix A*, note 3, where he will find a discussion of other details, connected with the argument of the hymn.

³ I may observe that Dissen found the *Grundgedanke* of the poem in the passage on the four virtues. "Fons explicationis est in eo loco, ubi de actatibus vitae dicitur." He thinks that the three victories mentioned in the last line

of the hymn were gained respectively in youth, manhood and advanced age. I have already mentioned that Mezger places the *Grundgedanke* in the passage about innate and acquired excellence. The truth is that both thoughts have been worked out in the poem, the ἀρετά of Aristoclide being the link between them.

⁴ Mezger sees in χαῖρε (l. 76) "eine Zurückweisung auf γέγαθε v. 33, womit der Mythos begonnen wurde". Aristoclide is to be glad like Peleus.

the thirst mentioned at the beginning of the hymn, a draught of song, with honey and white milk for ingredients,—as the Muses accepted only wineless libations—and crowned with foam, presented ‘in the breathings of Aeolian flutes’, as cups. The hymn concludes with a pointed comparison of Aristoclides to the Aeacids, and especially to Achilles. Just as the eagle, *αἰετός*, is the emblem of the Aeacids, *Διακίδαυ*, so Clio’s favour is indicated in the name Aristoclides. The eagle is described seizing a hare in these words

ἔλαβεν αἶψα, τηλόθε μεταμαιόμενος, δαφαινὸν ἄγραν ποσίν.

The choice of language shows that Achilles is primarily intended¹; *δαφαινὸν ἄγραν* recalls

λεόντεσσιν ἀγροτέροις ἔπρασσεν φόνον (46)

and *ποσίν* recalls *ποσσὶ γὰρ κράτεσκε* (l. 52) the traditional quality of Achilles.

And Aristoclides too, if not an eagle, has a quality etymologically resembling the eagle’s power of ‘grasping’ prey (*ἔλαβεν*); for he has *αἰετοφόρον λῆμα*, which suggests *λῆμμα*². And he too, like the Aeacids, has a star

(l. 84, *δέδορκεν φάος*. l. 64, *ἄραρε φέγγος*³).

And the prey of Aristoclides is indicated; for *μεταμαιόμενος*, used of the eagle, echoes *σέθεν ὅπα μαιόμενοι* said of the young men in the first strophe. It was upon the song of victory that he swooped.

The whole composition is a hymn of the perfect man, who has realised duly the excellences appropriate to the three periods of life,—childhood, manhood, and later manhood. Old age is not mentioned, for the Greeks regarded it as hardly a part of life in the true sense of the word. The perfect man will also realise a fourth quality, not confined to any age,—*φρονεῖν τὸ παρκείμενον*. These virtues are illustrated by (1) Achilles as a child, (2) the same hero as a man, and Heracles, (3) Peleus and Telamon, (4) Chiron.

The perfect man, who always attains his end by his own faculty, without extraneous aid, is also the man of light, opposed to the ineffectual man, who is called a ‘dark’ one. And there is a certain atmosphere of light, consciously, about the whole poem; we feel that we are in the bright Greek world, which extends to the pillars of Heracles, dividing it from darkness. *ἄγαλμα* (l. 13), *ἀγλαόκρανον* (l. 56), *ἀγλαῖσι* (l. 69), are notes suggesting the gracious presence of *Aglaia*; *τηλανγές ἄραρε φέγγος* (l. 64), *δέδορκεν φάος* (l. 84), *διαφαίνεται* (l. 71), even the name of the victor’s father *Ἀριστοφῶνης*, determine the bright atmosphere, of which Clio is the presiding deity.

And as in all Pindar’s works there are many striking phrases and suggested pictures in this poem—for instance, the young men waiting at the river, the balm of Nemea, Heracles alone in the far west sounding

¹ In these lines there is a secondary allusion to the poet himself. See note.

² In support of this explanation I must refer to the note on the significant *μέν* in

l. 83, and to *Appendix A, note 3*.

³ This comparison is noticed by Mezer.

NEMEONIKAI Γ'.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΙΔΗΙ ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΗΙ

ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΙΑΣΤΗΙ.

ὦ πότνια Μοῖσα, μᾶτερ ἀμετέρα, λίσσομαι, στρ. α'.
τὰν πολυξέναν ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ Νεμεάδι
ἵκεο Δωρίδα νᾶσον Αἴγιναν. ὕδατι γὰρ
μένοντ' ἐπ' Ἀσωπίῳ μελιγαρύων τέκτονες

1. ὦ πότνια Μοῖσα] *O Muse august, mother of us, come, I beseech thee, on the holy moon of Nemea to the Dorian island of Aegina which harbours many strangers.* The Muse invoked is Clio, mentioned by name in line 83. Poets are her spiritual children. The scholiast suggests the relation of Odysseus to Athene, Ψ 783:

μήτηρ ὥς Ὀδυσῆϊ παρίσταται ἥδ' ἐπα-
ρήγει.

2. πολυξέναν] Pindar sometimes adopts a feminine termination in the case of compound adjectives; as ἀθανάτα *Pyth.* III. 100, ἀκινήταν *Ol.* IX. 33, παρμονίμαν *Pyth.* VII. 20, and cp. *Nem.* v. 9. The MSS. have πολυξείναν, but the restoration of πολυξέναν (with Moschopoulos) is necessary for the metre.

The kindness of the Aeginetans to strangers was famous. In the 8th Olympian, l. 26, the island is called παντοδαποῖσιν ξένοις κίονα δαιμονίαν, *a divine pillar for strangers of all lands*, and in the 5th Nemean, l. 8, φίλαν ξένων ἄρουραν.

ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ Νεμεάδι] The anniversary of the Nemean festival. *ἱερομηνία* is, as Hesychius explains it, simply ἐορτάσιμος

ἡμέρα *festal day*, and does not imply that the moon was new or at the full.

3. ὕδατι γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] *For by the waters of Asopus are waiting young men, smiths of honeyed hymns, eagerly seeking for thy voice.*

Although there is no evidence beyond this passage, it would seem that there was a stream named Asopus near the city Aegina (as well as the Asopus in Boeotia and the Asopus near Phlius). In legend Asopus was the father of the nymphs Thebe and Aegina.

4. μένοντ'] That is, μένοντι = μένονσι.

μελιγαρύων τέκτονες κώμων] Here the singers (*χορευταί*) are called *artificers* of the hymns. In another place (*Pyth.* III. 113) the metaphor is used of the poet:

κῆξ ἐπέων κελαδεννῶν, τέκτονες οἶα
σοφοί

ἄρμωσαν, γινώσκομεν,
from the sounding verses wrought by skilful joiners. The writer of the essay on *Pindar's Odes of Victory* in the Quarterly Review of Jan. 1886 observes in regard to this phrase (p. 171); "Even the expression 'poet-builders', though it does not seem unnatural to us who are familiar

κώμων νεανίαι, σέθεν ὅπα μαιόμενοι.
διψῇ δὲ πρᾶγος ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλον·
ἀεθλονικία δὲ μάλιστ' αἰοιδὰν φιλεῖ,
στεφάνων ἀρετᾶν τε δεξιωτάταν ὁπαδόν.

5

τᾶς ἀφθονίαν ὅπαζε μῆτιος ἀμᾶς ἀπο·
ἄρχε δ', οὐρανοῦ πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι θύγατερ,

ἀντ. α'.

10

with Milton's 'build the lofty rhyme', must have been a significant expression when it was used by Pindar; since we find it parodied by Aristophanes and Cratinus". See Aristophanes, *Equites* 530 τέκτονες εὐπαλάμων ὕμνων and Cratinus, *Εὐν.* 3. It is to be observed that μελιγάρυς is not used as an epithet of persons but only of utterance. Pindar uses it always of hymns; *Ol.* XI. 4 and *Pyth.* III. 64 μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι; in Homer it qualifies ὅψ, μ 187.

5. **μαιόμενοι**] Pindar has chosen this word to allude to the circumstance that the hymn was delayed beyond its due time. *μαίωμαι*, *I seek*, is used by Pindar (1) without a case, *Ol.* I. 46, (2) with accusative, as here and *Pyth.* XI. 51 δυνatὰ μαιόμενος, (3) with infinitive, *Ol.* VIII. 5 μαιομένων λαβεῖν. But there is ultimately little difference between the three cases; in (1) an accusative is understood, and in (3) the infinitive is grammatically the object.

6. **διψῇ δέ**] *Divers are the thirsts of divers exploits; but victory in the games is chiefly fain of song, ministress most auspicious of crowns and valiant deeds.*

Dissen translates διψῇ desiderat, but it is a mistake to render the original, which is far stronger than ποθεῖ or ἐπιθυμεῖ, by a weaker equivalent. Compare *Pyth.* IX. 103 ἐμὲ δ' ὧν τις αἰοιδᾶν διψαν ἀκείβμενον πρᾶσσει χρεὸς αὐτὶς ἐγείραι. The rare word πρᾶγος differs from ἔργον only in dignity and solemnity. ἔργον is a deed; πρᾶγος is an exploit.

7. **ἀεθλονικία**] This word occurs only here.

8. **στεφάνων ἀρετᾶν τε**] In sense this is a hendiadys, but there is no reason to translate it as such. Joined with ὁπαδόν the adjective δεξιωτάταν is felicitous; it suggests that song, the companion, walks on the right of victory. ἀεθλονικία and αἰοιδά are abstractions; ὁπαδόν suggests a concrete picture, and δεξιωτάταν helps to define it.

9. **τᾶς ἀφθονίαν**] *Thereof minister an ungrudging measure from the store of my craft.* τᾶς=αἰοιδᾶς; the request is addressed to the Muse. In the preceding verse Song was called the companion of victory; in this verse song is regarded rather as a measurable thing than as a person, and the Muse is asked to send abundance thereof to accompany the victory of Aristocles. With consummate skill the poet connects the second metaphor with the first by choosing the word ὁπάξω, which literally meant *send along with* (as an ὁπαδός), as in § 310 ἄμ' ἡγεμόν' ἐσθλὸν ὁπασσον, but acquired the more general sense of *bestow*. With μῆτιος ἀμᾶς ἀπο compare *Nem.* IV. 8. In Homer ἄμός means *our* but in Pindar *my*; see *Isth.* V. 45, *Pyth.* IV. 27 and III. 41.

10. **ἄρχε δ' οὐρανοῦ κ.τ.λ.**] *Begin a true hymn in honour of the king of the cloudy welkin, his daughter thou; and I will impart it to their blending voices and commit it to the lyre.*

Dissen's explanation of l. 10 is certainly correct, *præci vero caeli regi præclarum hymnum, filia* (=filia Jovis). Bergk introduces into the text of his fourth edition Οὐρανοῖ, πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι θύγατερ, *Urania, daughter of the king*

δόκιμον ὕμνον· ἐγὼ δὲ κείνων τέ νιν ὅροις
 λύρα τε κοινάσομαι. χαρίεντα δ' ἔξει πόνον
 χώρας ἄγαλμα, Μυρμιδόνες ἵνα πρότεροι
 ᾤκησαν, ὧν παλαίφατον ἀγορὰν

enveloped in clouds, but the Muse addressed is Clio, not Urania, and all the MSS. have πολυνεφέλα (genitive). The scholium ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος Οὐρανοῦ θυγατέρα τὴν Μοῦσαν δέδεκται shows, as Mommsen pointed out, that Aristarchus read Οὐρανῷ πολυνεφέλα κρέοντι θυγάτερ, which would support Bergk's construction.

11. δόκιμον] *ein echtes Lied*, Mezger; *approved*. Compare Aeschylus, *Persae*, 547

κάγῳ δὲ μόρον τῶν οἰχομένων
 αἶρω δοκίμως πολυπενθῆ.

δόκιμος would be the word for translating *patent* into Greek.

ὅροις] Used of choral song (cf. *παίδων ὅροις*, *Pyth.* i. 98). νιν (restored by Mommsen for *μιν*) is ὕμνον.

12. κοινάσομαι] For the sense compare *Pyth.* viii. 29 ἀναθέμεν (*commit*) πᾶσαν μακραγορίαν λύρα τε καὶ φθέγματι μαλθακῷ, and Horace, *Odes* iv. 9. 11 *vinuntque commissi calores Aeoliae fidibus puellae*. The poet acts as a *προφήτης* or interpreter of the Muse to the musicians. In *Pyth.* iv. 115 Pindar uses the active aorist of κοινῶ in the same construction, νυκτὶ κοινάσαντες ὁδόν, *to Night (and to none other) having imparted the secret of their journey*.

χαρίεντα δ' ἔξει πόνον] *Its gracious work will be a bright jewel to deck the land where in former days dwelled the Myrmidons*. ὕμνος is the nominative to ἔξει, and if any change were necessary I should prefer Rauchenstein's ἔξεις (sc. Μοῖσα) to Mr Fennell's ἔξεαι (sc. Μοῖσα), of which, as of other 'causal Middles', I confess that I feel rather shy. But it seems unnecessary to deviate from the MSS.; the semi-personification of the Hymn is thoroughly Pindaric (compare

Nem. i. 5). The interpretation of Dissen is as untenable as those of Boeckh and Matthiae. (1) Boeckh making χώρας ἄγαλμα mean *the chorus* took it for the subject of ἔξει: "pulcrum elegantemque laborem habebit chorus". (2) Matthiae also took χώρας ἄγαλμα for the subject but explained it as *the ode*. (3) Dissen and Hermann understood Zeus as the subject of ἔξει and took χαρίεντα as predicate: "Iubens autem accipiet hoc carmen Iuppiter utpote ornamentum terrae".

χαρίεις πόνος is a work inspired by the Graces, and the closely following ἄγαλμα suggests Aglaia. (See *Appendix B.*) πόνος does not mean toil here, rather work of the hands, as though the song in honour of Aegina were a statue, and this comparison is further hinted at in the word ἄγαλμα, which is specially used of images (in *Nem.* x. 67 it means the headstone of a tomb).

13. Μυρμιδόνες] In a fragment of Hesiod it is related that Zeus supplied Aeacus with a people by transforming ants, *μύρμηκες*, into men, who were thence called Μυρμιδόνες. They were the oldest inhabitants of Aegina.

14. ἀγοράν] In conformity with the metre of the corresponding lines of the other strophes we expect here a word of spondaic instead of anapaestic scansion. (Hence Rauchenstein has proposed ἀλκάν and Kayser ἔδραν.) But in the fourth lines of the epodes of this ode we also find a variation between — and ~; hence it seems gratuitous to suppose that there is a corruption, especially as the word gives most excellent sense. Aristocles brought no soil of shame on the Place of Assembly called after the Myrmidons; and in the fourth strophe (l. 69) it is said that he glorified the Theorion, which was

οὐκ ἐλεγχέεσιν Ἀριστοκλείδας τεὰν
ἐμίανε κατ' αἶσαν ἐν περισθενεῖ μαλαχθεῖς

15

παγκρατίου στόλῳ· καματωδέων δὲ πλαγᾶν ἐπ. α'.
ἄκος ὑγιήρὸν ἐν βαθυπεδίῳ Νεμέᾳ τὸ καλλίνικον φέρει.

probably situated close to the agora (cf. Mezger, p. 386). It is clear, I think, that ἀγορά means here, primarily, the place of assembly (not *conventum* as Dissen takes it), suggesting of course the fame and traditions of the Myrmidons inseparably associated with the place.

15. οὐκ ἐλεγχέεσιν κ.τ.λ.] Translate: *whose time-honoured agora Aristoclides, by virtue of thee, O Clio, stained not with soils of shame through soft succumbing in the stalwart array of the pancration.*

That Aristoclides is possessed of the valour that wins renown (κλέος) his very name (Ἀριστο-κλείδας) is a sign, and for the same reason he is the favourite of Clio (Κλειώ, who sings τὰ κλέα ἀνδρῶν). This idea is expressed by τεὰν κατ' αἶσαν, *under thy auspices*—a stronger phrase than σοῦ χάριν. For αἶσα means *omen* (compare the adjective αἰσῖος), and here suggests that the name *Aristoclides* is ominous. In a passage in the Ninth Olympian Ode (l. 42) the word, I think, has a similar significance:

ἵν' αἰολοβρόντα Διὸς αἶσα

Πύρρα Δευκαλίων τε Παρνασοῦ κατα-
βάντε

δόμον ἔθεντο πρῶτον κ.τ.λ.

where under the auspices of Deus (Zeus), who wieldeth the forked flame, Pyrrha (suggesting πῦρ) and Deu-calion &c. Here αἶσα calls attention to an omen latent in the names Deucalion and Pyrrha.—With οὐκ ἐλεγχέεσιν ἐμίανε Dissen compares Solon (frag. 32, Bergk) μίανας καὶ καταισχίνας κλέος. Compare ψεύδεσι καταμίαναι (*Pyth.* IV. 100) and Θεόγητον οὐ κατελέγχεῖς (*Pyth.* VIII. 36). For τεὰν Bergk reads ἑάν after a scholium.

16. περισθενεῖ] This Pindaric adjective occurs only here and in frag. 131, l. 2,

where it is used of Death: καὶ σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἔπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεῖ, *and the body of each followeth stalwart Death.* It conveys the idea of the immense strength required for the pancration. στόλῳ suggests a comparison with real warfare, as Dissen has noticed, comparing *Pyth.* XI. 50 Πυθοῖ τε γυμνὸν ἐπὶ στάδιον καταβάντες ἤλεγξαν Ἑλλανίδα στρατιὰν ὠκύτατι. Mezger translates *Allkampfsgang* (cf. *Wäffengang*).

17. καματωδέων δὲ πλαγᾶν] *But he hath a healthful balm for weary blows and bruises, even the hymn of victory which the deep dale of Nemea doled to him.* The thought that victory and the songs which celebrate victory are a physic for pain often recurs in Pindar; compare e.g. the opening lines of the Fourth Nemean, and Nemean VIII. 49. For καματώδης cf. Hesiod, *Op. et D.* 582 θέρεος καματώδους ὥρη, and Pindar, frag. 218 καματώδες μέριμναι.

18. ἐν βαθυπεδίῳ Νεμέᾳ] Most MSS. have ἐν βαθυπεδίῳ, two (X and Z *prima manu*) have ἐν βαθυπέδῳ, the Moschopuleans have ἐν γε βαθυπέδῳ. I think Bergk is rash in adopting the latter. βαθυπέδιος (*with low-lying plain*) is an isolated compound of πεδίον, and Pindar coined it in order to arrest the attention and emphasize his covert meaning. *Nemea* is a dispenser (νέμω) of balm and her vale is deep, even as the mind of Chiron the healer is deep (see below l. 53 βαθυμῆτα and l. 55 νόμον).

τὸ καλλίνικον φέρει] *he has won the song of triumph; he is greeted in song as ὦ καλλνίκε, conquering hero.* In *Olymp.* IX. 2 we have καλλνίκος ὁ τρίπλοος κεχλαδῶς (*the hymn swelling with thrice-resounding shout of triumph*), where ὕμνος

εἰ δ' ἔὼν καλὸς ἔρδων τ' εὐκίότα μορφῇ
 ἀνορέαις ὑπερτάταις ἐπέβα παῖς Ἀριστοφάνευσ, οὐκέτι πρόσω 20
 ἀβίταν ἄλλα κίωνων ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλέος περᾶν εὐμαρές,

ἥρως θεὸς ᾗς ἔθηκε ναυτιλίας ἐσχάτας

στρ. β'.

is understood; cf. *Pyth.* v. 106 τὸ καλλινικὸν μέλος. φέρειν is used for winning as well as φέρεσθαι; see *Isthm.* vi. 21. But here ἄκος φέρει is intended to suggest an etymology of φάρμ-ακον, see below l. 55. The present tense implies that the consequences of the victory are not yet over. Bergk, after a scholium, reads φέρειν (*To win at Nemea is balm*). But a view of the whole context supports the mss. reading; it seems most natural that after the negative assertion οὐκ ἐμλανε, the particle δέ should introduce a corresponding positive assertion.

19. εἰ δ' ἔὼν κ.τ.λ.] *But if the son of Aristophanes, being comely and doing deeds like unto his comeliness, embarked in the loftiest achievements of manhood's excellence, then it is not an easy thing to traverse further the pathless sea beyond the pillars of Heracles which the hero-god set as witnesses of the limits of his famed seafaring.* For the association of beauty with beautiful deeds compare *Olymp.* ix. 94 ὠραῖος ἔων καὶ καλὸς κάλλιστά τε ῥέξαις, *Isthm.* vi. 22 σθένει τ' ἑκπαγλὸς ἰδεῖν τε μορφάεις, ἄγει τ' ἀρετὰν οὐκ αἰσχίον φυᾶς, *Olymp.* viii. 19 ἦν δ' ἐσορᾶν καλὸς ἔργω τ' οὐ κατὰ εἶδος ἐλέγχων. It is not necessary to interpret ἀνορέαις *laudes* with Dissen; it simply means *manly deeds*, which imply *manly qualities*. ἐπέβα introduces the metaphor of the seafarer; compare ἐπιβαίνειν ναυρί Thucyd. vii. 70. In *Nem.* xi. 44 μεγαλανορίας ἐμβαλνομεν, *we embark in great deeds of valour*, a similar metaphor is used of the poet. Aristocles' noble qualities are the ship in which he sails and reaches the pillars of Heracles; the fact that he reaches them, though not expressly stated, is

implied in the next clause, and is assured by the excellence of the ship (*ὑπερτάταις*).

20. οὐκέτι πρόσω κ.τ.λ.] The pillars of Heracles were a prominent feature in Pindar's view of the world. In *Olymp.* iii. 43 it is said of Theron that by his deeds of prowess he toucheth without leaving home (ἄπτεται οἴκοθεν) the pillars of Heracles, τὸ πόρσω δ' ἔστι σοφοῖς ἄβατον κἀσόφοις, *but that which is beyond may not be traced by wise or witless*; compare *Isthm.* iii. 30 ἀνορέαις δ' ἐσχάταισιν οἴκοθεν στάλαισιν ἄπτονθ' Ἡρακλείαις, almost verbally the same. In both these cases the force of οἴκοθεν is to qualify a somewhat strong metaphor. See also *Nem.* iv. 69 Γαδείρων τὸ πρὸς ζόφον οὐ περατόν. In the present case the poet makes the metaphor an introduction to a short statement of the services of Heracles the Deliverer.

The declension of Ἡρακλέης in Pindar is -έος, -εἰ and -ῆι, -έα -ees. The antepenult is long in 12 passages, short in 10, and twice doubtful.

22. ναυτιλίας κλυτᾶς] Pindar uses ναυτιλία in the plural, also of Heracles' sea-voyaging, in *Isthm.* iii. 75:

ὃς Οὐλυμπόνδ' ἔβα γαλας τε πάσας
 καὶ βαθυκρήμου πολιᾶς ἁλὸς ἐξενρών
 θέναρ

ναυτιλίαςί τε πορθμὸν ἀμερώσαις,
who went to Olympus, having discovered the beetling ledge of the whole earth and of the white sea, and having tamed the deep by his seafaring (πορθμός is the sea from the aspect of navigators). The reading of the best mss. κλυτᾶς is certainly right (al. κλυτάς); ναυτιλίας κλυτᾶς balances ἐσχάτας κίονας.

μάρτυρας κλυτὰς· δάμασε δὲ θήρας ἐν πελάγεϊ
 ὑπερόχους, ἰδίᾳ τ' ἐρέυνασε τεναγέων
 ῥοάς, ὅπα πόμπιμον κατέβαινε νόστου τέλος,
 καὶ γὰν φράδασσε. θυμέ, τίνα πρὸς ἀλλοδαπὴν

25

23. δάμασε δέ κ.τ.λ.] *He subdued monstrous beasts on the ocean and by himself searched out the streams and the shallows, as far as where he was landing at the goal that speedeth homeward, and he made land known.* All the MSS. have πελάγει, except B which has πελάγεσσι. I follow Bergk in reading πελάγεϊ (there is a similar error, ἀτρεκεῖ for ἀτρεκέι, in l. 41 below). Von Leutsch suggests that these words may be a reminiscence of words of Stesichorus, who first narrated the fable.

24. The MSS. have ὑπερόχος ἰδίᾳ(α) τ' ἐρέυνασε. The scholia mention another reading διὰ τ' ἐρέυνασε, whence Boeckh deduced διὰ τ' ἐξέρευνασε. With Mommsen and Mezger I believe we should retain ἰδίᾳ, on his own account, without the aid of others; this was a significant characteristic of Heracles' achievements, and that Pindar wished to insist on it in this ode is clear from the emphatic prominence given to the fact that Peleus was single-handed when he captured Iolcos, μόνος ἀνευ στρατιᾶς, l. 34. M. Schmidt proposed σπιθίας (= μακράς) and Bergk αἰδνᾶς (*caliginosa*, cf. πηλὸς αἰδνός in Hesychius).

τεναγέων] The schol.: δλυγοὶ καὶ παραποτάμιοι ὀφρύες ἥτοι παρατεταμένη καὶ ὑπερέχουσα γῆ οὖσα, is hardly correct. τεναγή are, as Dissen says, 'πηλώδη πελάγη, vada', and Mr Fennell aptly quotes Pliny's remark about the straits of Gades, *frequentes taeniae candicantis vadi carinas tentant* (*Hist. Nat.* III. 1). Heracles discovered the channels (ῥοδοί) intersecting the tracts of shallow water. With ἐρέυνασε (Lat. scrutari) compare μ 259 πόρους ἄλδος ἐξερεῖνων.

25. ὅπα κ.τ.λ.] This clause defines the place up to which Heracles explored the

shallows. He was landing (note the imperfect, which is relative to ἐρέυνασε not to Pindar) at the goal which causeth return—beyond which none sail—that is the Straits of Gades. The meaning of the passage has been obscured by not attending to the tense of καταβαίνω and by taking νόστου as meaning Heracles' own return. As no causal adjective is formed from νόστος, νόστου πόμπιμον is used instead. Mezger compares πόμπιμος φίλων, Eur. *Med.* 848. Dissen wrongly takes νόστου with τέλος (*meta reditus*). καταβαίνειν = *devenire ad portum*, compare *Nem.* IV. 38.

26. φράδασσε] Coordinate with ἐρέυνασε, not with κατέβαινε. This verb, formed from φραδά, is perhaps a coinage of the Pindaric mint. It is generally rendered 'made the land known' (*terram indicavit, machte kund das Land*), almost equivalent to ἔφρασε. But just as γνῶρίζω means *to discover* (as well as *to make known*), so φραδάζω may mean *to discover by φραδή*, that is, by conjecture or divination; he discovered the land which he had divined. For φραδή compare *Ol.* XII. 9 τῶν δὲ μελλόντων τετύφλωνται φραδαί, Aeschylus *Eum.* 245 μηνυτήρος ἀφθέγκτου φραδαῖς.

θυμέ, τίνα κ.τ.λ.] *Soul, to what promontory of outlanders dost thou make my ship's course to veer?* The expression reminds us of Dante's *la navicella del mio ingegno*. ἀλλοδαπός means *of a strange land*, as ἡμεδαπός means *of our land*. παραμβεῖναι, *pass by* (in *Pyth.* II. 50 παραμβεῖται δελφίνα, *outstrips the dolphin in speed*) is here used in a causal sense; but observe the limitation. ἐμὸν πλόον is not really distinct from θυμός the subject of παραμβεῖναι, it is merely θυμός in another aspect; and thus ἐμὸν

ἄκραν ἐμὸν πλόον παραμείβει;
 Λίακῶ σε φαρὶ γένει τε Μοῖσαν φέρειν.
 ἔπεται δὲ λόγῳ δίκας ἄωτος, ἐσλὸς αἰνεῖν.

οὐδ' ἄλλοτρίων ἔρωτες ἀνδρὶ φέρειν κρέσσονες. ἀντ. β'. 30
 οἴκοθεν μάτευε. ποτίφορον δὲ κόσμον ἔλαβες

πλόον παραμείβει is virtually equivalent to παραμείβει in its usual sense. The preposition has the shade of meaning often expressed in Latin by *de*; *deflectere*.

28. ΛΙΑΚῶ κ.τ.λ.] *I charge thee, convey the Muse for Aeacus and his race; my tale is wafted on its errand to praise noble men by a blast of Justice. Desires of foreign things are not the better burden for a man; search at home.* These lines of transition from the myth of Heracles to the exploits of the Aeginetan heroes are often misunderstood. Pindar recalls the ship of his soul from Gades, reminding her that 'Aeacus and his race' have chartered her to carry the Muse (Clio); then he adds that in returning to Aegina he is adopting the best method of praising the victor, even by celebrating the bravery of the race of Aeacus. The deprecation of ἄλλοτρίων ἔρωτες applies primarily to the poet himself (ἄλλοτρίων taking up ἀλλοδαπὴν of l. 26), secondarily to the victor (cf. below l. 40). In line 28 φαρὶ has what the Germans call a pregnant sense, *I charge thee* (cp. Tennyson's 'Memory, I charge thee, rise').

29. ἔπεται δὲ λόγῳ κ.τ.λ.] Of the two interpretations of this line which have been put forward, the most usually accepted is otiose and irrelevant, the other is unlikely. (1) *Adest autem verbo meo iustitiae summum decus, bonorum in praedicatione positum* (Dissen); or, as Mr Fennell (taking λόγῳ differently) translates, 'The flower of justice concurs with the maxim "praise the noble"'. Whether Pindar would under any circumstances have termed such a maxim

'the gloss of justice', I may be permitted to express a doubt, but in this context it is at best irrelevant, having no connexion with what precedes or with what follows. For if it is not irrelevant, it stultifies the point of Pindar's argument. He cuts short his eulogy of Heracles that he may celebrate the praises of Peleus and Achilles: why? Because it is the essence of justice to praise the noble. Therefore, according to this interpretation, Pindar either wrote a line that had no point, or suggested the proposition that Heracles was not noble. Neither the procedure nor the doctrine are Pindaric. (2) Von Leutsch and Mezger to avoid these consequences take ἐσλός, not as a Doric accusative, but as a nominative agreeing with ἄωτος, and make αἰνεῖν depend on the adjective: 'adjuncta autem meo verbo justitia egregia ad laudandum est, i.e. summo jure Aeacum nunc laudo'. But ἐσλός αἰνεῖν as a qualification of δίκας ἄωτος is intolerably weak,—it would not be too much to call it bathos. (δίκας) ἄωτος is *the best*; it is, certainly, unnecessary to add that *the best* is *good to praise*. ἐσλός would be in any case a strange adjective with ἄωτος.

For my own view of the passage see Appendix A, note 3.

30. φέρειν] The metaphor of the ship ceased in l. 29, but the sound of the last word in l. 28 is echoed in verse 30. With κρέσσονες understand ἐρώτων οἰκείων, words which it was needless to express, as ἄλλοτρίων, being a correlative word, implies οἰκείων and the implication is rendered quite clear by οἴκοθεν in l. 31.

31. ποτίφορον δέ] ποτίφορος (πρόσ-

γλυκύ τι γαρνέμεν. παλαιαῖσι δ' ἐν ἀρεταῖς
γέγαθε Πηλεὺς ἄναξ, ὑπέραλλον αἰχμὰν ταμών.
ὃς καὶ Φωλκὸν εἴλε μόνος ἄνευ στρατιᾶς,
καὶ ποντίαν Θέτιν κατέμαρψεν
ἐγκονητί. Λαομέδοντα δ' εὐρυσθενὴς

35

phoros), *meet*, but here with a more literal shade of meaning, determined by *φέρειν* in the preceding line,—*good to carry*. A similar reference to the etymological signification of *πρόσφορος* will be found in *Nem.* VIII. 48 (see note). *κόσμος* is *argument* or *material for praise*. We may endeavour to bring out the force of *ποτίφορος* somewhat thus: *Thou* (Pindar still addresses his soul) *hast taken a fair burden of praise, to sing withal some sweet strain*. For γλυκύ τι γαρνέμεν compare μελιγαρῶν κώμων in l. 4. The whole sentence is illustrated by some verses in the Eleventh (Tenth) Olympian ode

ἴσθι νῦν Ἄρχεστράτου

παῖ, τεῆς, Ἀγησίδαμε, πυγμαχίας ἔνεκεν
κόσμον ἐπὶ στεφάνῳ χρυσέας ἑλάας
ἀδμυελὴ κελαδήσω (ll. 11—14).

Κνωσ πω, O Agesidamus, that for thy boxing I will sing a sweet resounding song to be a jewel in thy crown of golden olive leaves.

For *ἐλαβες* of the MSS., Bergk after a scholium reads *ἐλαχες*. But *ἐλαχες* gives inferior sense. *ἐλαβες* is appropriate after *μάτενε*. *Search out* (like a hound on the traces of prey) *matter for praise at home*. *But thou hast caught* &c.

32. *παλαιαῖσι δ' ἐν ἀρεταῖς* κ.τ.λ.] *Endued with the excellences of older men, the lord Peleus had joy therein, when he cut a spearshaft surpassing great; it was he who took Iolcos all alone, without a host, and who clutched fast Thetis of the sea by dint of toil and strife.* *ἐν* does not depend on *γέγαθε*, but means *in possession of*, the words *ἐν παλαιαῖς ἀρεταῖς* qualifying the subject. *ἐν* in Pindar is elastic, and perhaps some may prefer to take it here as meaning *in the sphere of, to deal with*. *παλαιαῖς* refers to Peleus'

advanced age, not to his antiquity; see below l. 73 (note).

33. *ὑπέραλλον αἰχμὰν*] *ὑπέραλλος*, *towering above others, overtopping, matchless*, is a Pindaric coinage. Its motive is partly to be found in the preceding *ἄλλοτρίων*; the spear of Aeginetan Peleus surpasses all *others*. So too the beasts which Heracles subdued were *ὑπέροχοι* (l. 24). See *Introduction* to this ode. Of this spear which Peleus cut him on Mt. Pelion we read in Π 143:

Πηλιάδα μελίην τὴν πατρὶ φίλῳ πόρε
Χείρων

Πηλίου ἐκ κορυφῆς, φόνον ἔμμεναι ἠρώεσσιν.

34. *Φωλκόν*] This name appears to have had the digamma, *ῥωλκόν* (so Christ). The capture of Iolcos was an act of vengeance on Acastus, of whose relations with Peleus we shall hear something in the Fourth and Fifth Nemean hymns. Pindar calls special attention to the circumstance that Peleus' exploit was accomplished singlehanded (see above note on l. 24).

35. *κατέμαρψεν*] For the wooing of Thetis see *Nemean* IV. 62 sqq. *καταμάρπτω* is to overtake or catch something that is running away or trying to elude the grasp. *ἐγκονητί* is a Pindaric formation from *ἐγκονέω*. As this verb doubtless suggested *κόνις* to Pindar's mind, the idea of *ἐγκονητί* may have a shade of Dissen's *non sine pulvere*, but Mezger is right in translating it *hastig*. The rapid and sudden transformation of Thetis demanded exceeding haste in the efforts of Peleus. The novelty of the adverb renders it more telling.

36. *εὐρυσθενής*] This adjective is applied in *Nem.* v. 4 to Pytheas, conqueror in the pancration, and so here it

Τελαμών Ἰόλα παραστάτας ἐὼν ἔπερσεν·

καί ποτε χαλκότοξον Ἀμαζόνων μετ' ἀλκὰν ἐπ. β'.
 ἔπετό Φοί· οὐδέ νῦν ποτε φόβος ἀνδροδάμαις ἔπαυσεν ἀκμὰν φρενῶν.
 συγγενεῖ δέ τις εὐδοξία μέγα βρίθει· 40
 ὃς δὲ διδάκτ' ἔχει, ψεφηνὸς ἀνὴρ ἄλλοτ' ἄλλα πνέων οἳ ποτ'
 ἀτρεκεῖ

suggests that in *massive strength* Telamon resembled Aristoclides, the victor ἐν περισθενεῖ παγκρατίῳ στόλῳ (above l. 16). In the first line of the 5th Pythian ode, εὐρυσθενής is applied to πλούτος; but it is to be observed that πλούτος is personified and compared to a squire (ἐπέταν l. 4), just as here Telamon is a squire of Iolaos. In *Isthm.* II. 17 we have εὐρυσθενής Ἀπόλλων; in *Ol.* XII. 2, if our text is right, Ἰμέραν εὐρυσθενέ', and in *Ol.* IV. 12 φάος εὐρυσθενέων ἀρετῶν (of a victor in a chariot race). In Homer the adjective is applied to Poseidon.

37. Ἰόλα] The enterprise against Trojan Laomedon was undertaken by Heracles, Iolaos and Telamon; but in this reference Pindar purposely avoids mentioning Heracles' name, which might have seemed to overshadow the fame of the hero of Aegina; moreover he had already done honour to Heracles and had abruptly turned from the seductive theme. It was Heracles and not Telamon who slew Laomedon, hence ἔπερσε, which does not imply the individual act of slaughter, but means *wrought the ruin of, abolished* Laomedon and his city. παραστάτης means *comrade* or *squire* (properly, comrade on the flank, distinguished from ἐπιστάτης, man in the rear, and προστάτης, man in the front rank). In *Nem.* IV. 25 Telamon is mentioned as Heracles' companion on this expedition; likewise in *Isthm.* v. 27 sqq.

38. καί ποτε κ.τ.λ.] *And once he followed him* (Iolaos) *in quest of the mighty Amazons with brazen bows.* χαλκότοξος does not occur elsewhere. Dissen-

compares λῆμα τοξουλκόν, Aeschylus, *Persae* 55.

39. οὐδέ νῦν κ.τ.λ.] *Nor did fear that mastereth men ever dull the flashing edge of his spirit.* The literal meaning of ἀκμή is *edge* as in ξυροῦ ἀκμή, ξίφους ἀκμή &c.; hence *keenness* of mind or spirit. In *Isth.* VII. 41 ἐναλγκιον στεροπαῖσι ἀκμὰν ποδῶν, the idea is that of a glancing edge: render 'like unto lightning-flashes in the splendour and speed of his feet' (cp. αἴγλα ποδῶν, *Ol.* XIII. 36).

The quantity of the first syllable of ἀκμά is common in Pindar (here – as in *Isth.* VII. 41; ~ in *Pyth.* IV. 64; *Ol.* II. 63; = *Isth.* III. 69).

This casting away of the reproach of fear from Telamon completes the comparison with Aristoclides, from whom the reproach of μαλακία is repelled in ll. 15, 16.

40. συγγενεῖ δέ κ.τ.λ.] See *Introduction*, p. 39. εὐδοξία is nobility or valour, but Pindar probably intended to suggest *thoughts instinctively brave*. In βρίθῳ the comparative idea, latent in all words denoting weight, is strongly marked: compare Sophocles, *Ajax*, 130 μηδ' ὄγκον ἄρη μηδέν' εἰ τινος πλέον ἢ χειρὶ βρίθεις ἢ μακροῦ πλούτου βάθει, and (governing an accusative) *Nem.* VIII. 18 Κυνόραν ἔβρισε πλούτῳ.

In this passage it is a question of χειρὶ βρίθῳ: in the boxing and wrestling the hand of Aristoclides was (physically) heavy on his adversaries.

For the Pindaric doctrine in these lines, see *Nem.* I. 25.

41. ψεφηνός] Bergk was rash in alter-

κατέβα ποδί, μυριᾶν δ' ἄρετᾶν ἀτελεῖ νόῳ γέυεται.

ξανθὸς δ' Ἀχιλεὺς τὰ μὲν μένων Φιλύρας ἐν δόμοις, στρ. γ'.
 παῖς ἔων ἄθυρε μεγάλα Φέργα, χερσὶ θαμινὰ
 βραχυσίδαρων ἄκοντα πάλλων ἴσον ἀνέμοις 45
 μάχα λεόντεσσιν ἀγροτέροις ἔπρασσε φόνον,
 κάπρους τ' ἔναιρε, σώματα δὲ παρὰ Κρονίδαν

ing the MSS. reading to ψεφεινός on the analogy of ὀρεινός ἀλγεινός φαινός &c. These adjectives correspond to ὄρος (dative ὄρει), ἄλγος, φάος &c., whereas ψεφηνός is to be connected not with ψέφος but with ψέφας, and finds an exact parallel in σελήνη: σέλας.

This man, whose soul, unilluminated by native light, is fickle and unsuccessful, is compared to a mariner sailing under a dark welkin, yielding to the impulse of varying blasts and never coming safe to shore by sheer dint of strong and skilful steering. While ποδί means the foot of the wanderer it perhaps suggests the sheet of the ship. Pindar chooses his language so as to bring out unmistakably the contrast between the ineffectual plodder and an inspired hero like Heracles. οὐ κατέβα contrasts with κατέβαινε and ἀτελεῖ with τέλος in l. 25.

43. τὰ μὲν μένων] These words according to Boeckh and Dissen *opposita sunt versibus 59 et sqq., ubi de Troiano bello et iuvenili s. virili Achillis aetate agitur; non potuit sequi τὰ δὲ quum multa interiecta totaque orationis forma mutata sit*. I believe however that Mezger is right in taking δὲ in verse 49 as the responsive to μὲν of verse 43. When he was a boy of six years old he shot the beasts without leaving the cave of Chiron (μένων ἐν δόμοις); afterwards he hunted abroad and pursued the stags.

Φιλύρας] Chiron was the offspring of Philyra and Cronos.

44. ἄθυρε μεγάλα Φέργα] *wrrought mighty deeds in sport*.

θαμινά] For θαμά, as though a neuter

plural of θαμινός; cp. *Ol.* i. 53 ἀκέρδεια λέλοχεν θαμινὰ κακαγόρος, *full often hath loss befallen evil-speakers*.

45. βραχυσίδαρων] *Full often brandishing in his hands a small-headed javelin, swift as winds, he would, in battle with them, deal bloody death unto savage lions*. The smallness of the javelin, suitable to the little boy, is accentuated by a new word βραχυσίδαρων, just as the size of Peleus' mighty lance was described by the novel compound ὑπέρ-αλλος. The MSS. have ἴσον τ' ἀνέμοισιν ἐν μάχα. The causes of the double mistake are clear; the omission of the half-stop after ἔργα in l. 44 led to the insertion of τ' (in disregard of the metre), and ἐν crept in from the margin (ἐν μάχα a gloss on μάχα). Moschopoulos' ἴσα τ' ἀνέμοισιν is from a critical point of view unlikely; the corruption of ἴσα to ἴσον is not easily explained, and ἴσα ἀνέμοις seems to require some additional adjective, participle or explanatory word, to express *running with windlike speed*. But when we consider the context we see that this reading is simply impossible. Achilles is represented as *abiding in the house of Philyra*; we must imagine him standing in the mouth of the cave and shooting the beasts who prowl thereby. Running is thus excluded. At a later age he became a swift runner and his speed is mentioned below l. 52 in an express clause. I have therefore followed the reading of E. Schmid and Bergk. The arrow, though shot by the child, flew with matchless swiftness.

47. σώματα δέ κ.τ.λ.] All MSS. have

Κένταυρον ἀσθμαίνων ἐκόμιζεν,
 ἐξέτης τοπρῶτον, ὅλον δ' ἔπειτ' ἂν χρόνον·
 τὸν ἐθάμβεον Ἄρτεμῖς τε καὶ θρασεῖ Ἀθάνα

50

κτείνοντ' ἐλάφους ἄνευ κυνῶν δολίων θ' ἐρκέων·
 ποσσὶ γὰρ κράτεσκε. λεγόμενον δὲ τοῦτο προτέρων
 ἔπος ἔχω· βαθυμήτα Χείρων τράφε λιθίνῳ

ἀντ. γ'.

ἀσθμαίνοντα, and most σώματα; D however gives σώματι, B and B σωμάτια. Most editors have abandoned the reading of Triclinius σώματι—ἀσθμαίνοντι and accept σώματα—ἀσθμαίνοντα, which has apparently preponderant authority. An old paraphrase however points in a different direction: τῷ δὲ αὐτοῦ σώματι ἐνεργῶν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἀσθματος πλήρης... θήρας ἐφύρει. From this explanation Rauchenstein inferred the reading ἀσθμαίνων ἐκόμιζεν, which is accepted by Mezger. (The paraphrast read σώματι—ἀσθμαίνων.)

It seems to me that Rauchenstein's reading recommends itself both on textual grounds and on the score of the meaning.

(1) Starting with σώματα ἀσθμαίνων we can explain the genesis of the text of the mss. and the variant of the paraphrast. On the one hand σώματα contaminated ἀσθμαίνων (perhaps owing to the notion that it was unfit that Achilles should be represented panting). On the other hand, some scribe, having scruples about referring σώματα to the beasts and expecting the phrase σῶμα ἀσθμαίνων, altered σώματα to σώματι. (2) There is little point in representing the beasts haled by Achilles as not yet dead (ἀσθμαίνοντα); whereas the picture gains a new touch by ἀσθμαίνων. The little boy pants from the exertion of dragging the carcasses to Chiron. In the same way Pindar has laid stress on the toil undergone by Peleus in capturing Thetis by the word ἐγκονητί, and on the labours of Aristocles in the pancration by the word καματωδέων (l. 17).

49. ὅλον δ' ἔπειτ'] δὲ corresponds to

μὲν in verse 43, with which ἐξέτης τοπρῶτον is to be connected. He abode in the cave when he was six years old or thereabouts; afterwards he used to slay beasts as before, but as a hunter on the mountains (this is implied in ll. 51, 52).

50. τὸν κ.τ.λ.] *On whom Artemis and bold Athene gazed with amazement, as he slew stags without hounds or cunning nets; for he surpassed them in speed of feet.* πῶδας ὥκεις was the Homeric addition of Achilles. Here too, as in the exploits of Heracles and Peleus, Pindar lays stress on the circumstance that Achilles hunted alone, *without aid of dogs or nets.*

52. λεγόμενον δέ κ.τ.λ.] The transition is somewhat abrupt in expression but not in thought. The connexion is: Achilles was educated by Chiron, the celebrated trainer of heroes, who taught Jason and Asclepius and assisted at the bridal of Peleus, Achilles' father. Instead of saying this directly Pindar begins almost as if he were passing to a new subject, but comes back to Achilles in l. 57. λεγόμενον is predicate: I tell a story often told by former poets. προτέρων depends on ἔπος.

53. βαθυμήτα] *Deep-counselling; this vox Pindarica* (as already observed, note on l. 18) has a significance for the comprehension of the poem. Chiron ('he with the hands') was skilled in applying balsams with gentle hands (l. 55), whereby he could alleviate the wounds of the young heroes under his care. Even so the victory at Nemea and the accompanying hymn of Pindar can alleviate the wounds

Ἰάσον' ἔνδον τέγει, καὶ ἔπειτεν Ἀσκλαπίον,
τὸν φαρμάκων δίδαξε μαλακόχειρα νόμον·
νύμφευσε δ' αὖτις ἀγλαόκρανον
Νηρέος θύγατρα, γόνον τέ Foi φέρτατον
ἀτίταλλεν ἐν ἀρμένοισι πάντα θυμὸν αὔξων·

55

of Aristocles. The words *βαθυμήτα* and *νόμον* are chosen to recall *βαθυπεδίῳ* Νεμέα l. 18; *βαθυμήτα* also recalls *μήτις ἀμᾶς ἀπο* in l. 9; and *φαρμάκων* suggests *ἄκος φέρει* l. 18. *Deer-crafty Chiron reared Jason in his house of rock, and thereafter Asclepius, to whom he taught the ministry of medicines with gentle hands.*

54. *ἔνδον τέγει*] Compare *Nem.* VII. 44 *ἔνδον ἄλσει*, but *ἔνδον θαλάσσης Ol.* VII. 62, *ἔνδον Ὀλύμπου Pyth.* XI. 64.

55. *μαλακόχειρα*] A Pindaric compound, intended to call attention to the meaning of the Centaur's name *Χείρων*. The gentle hand of the physician is mentioned in *Pyth.* IV. 271 *χρὴ μαλακὰν χέρα προσβάλλοντα τρώμαν ἑλκεος ἀμφιπολεῖν*. The same MSS. which gave *σώματι* and *σωμάτι* in l. 47, give here *νομόν*, which does not afford a correct sense. *νόμος* is the act or art of administering (*vémos, dispense*).

56. *νύμφευσε κ.τ.λ.*] *But on another day he compassed the marriage of the queen of well-heads, the bright daughter of Nereus.* *νύμφευσε nuptias conciliavit* (of Thetis with Peleus). The marriage was celebrated on Mt. Pelion in Chiron's cave. Three MSS. V (*pr. man.*) X and Z (*pr. man.*) give *ἀγλαόκαρνον*; the others are divided between *ἀγλαόκολλον* and *ἀγλαόκαρπον*. The latter is accepted by most editors, but variously explained, (1) bright-wristed (cp. Milton's 'pearl'd wrists' of the Nereids, in *Comus*), (2) giver of bright fruits, (3) *frugibus insignem* or *fruges alentem*; (4) Mr Tyrrell regards *ἀγλαόκαρπος* as the Homeric word [δυσ-] ἀριστοτόκεια reset, and renders *blest in the fruit of her womb*. It

is to be observed that the three MSS. which combine in reading *ἀγλαόκαρνον* are generally more trustworthy than the others; in v. 39 for example of this hymn they give *ἀκμάν* whereas the rest have *ἀλκάν*, and in v. 38, they preserve *χαλκότοξον* (rell. *χαλκοτόξων*). Accordingly, in order to determine the true reading, we must start with *ἀγλαόκαρνον*, which at once suggests *ἀγλαόκρανον* (actually written by a 'second hand' in D), an epithet appropriate to the sea-goddess. But its peculiar felicity lies in the circumstance that *-κρανον*, besides meaning *foundation-head*, suggests also *κάρανον* (*κάρηνον*), the head of Thetis, conceived personally. This explains the reading *ἀγλαόκαρνον*. *ἀγλαοκάρανον*, written in the margin, found its way into the text and became *ἀγλαόκαρνον metri gratia*. I confess that I was a little sorry to abandon *ἀγλαόκολλον* *bright-bosomed*, which perhaps suggested Mr Swinburne's line 'bright bosom shortening into sighs'.

57. *γόνον τέ Foi κ.τ.λ.*] *And nourished for her a son most brave, in fitting exercises exalting all his spirit for a voyage.* *ἄρμενα* would be a suitable word to render in Greek 'knightly exercises'; but, conversely, it is better to avoid a translation which suggests the medieval world. Cp. Theognis, 695

οὐ δύναμαι σοι, θυμὲ, παρασχεῖν ἄρμενα
πάντα·

τέτλαθι· τῶν δὲ καλῶν οὔτι σὺ μούνος
ἐρᾶς.

Both *ἄρμενα* and *φέρτατον* have a special significance in this passage, for which see Appendix A, note 3. *αὔξων* means *training to greatness*, or rather *to its fullest development*.

ὄφρα θαλασσίαις ἀνέμων ῥιπαῖσι πεμφθεῖς ἐπ. γ'.
 ὑπὸ Τροίαν δορίκτυπον ἰλαλὰν Λυκίων τε προσμένοι καὶ Φρυγῶν 60
 Δαρδάνων τε, καὶ ἐγχεσφόροις ἐπιμίξαις
 Αἰθίοπεσσι χεῖρας, ἐν φρασὶ πάξαιθ', ὅπως σφίσι μὴ κοίρανος
 ὀπίσω
 πάλιν οἴκαδ' ἀνεψιὸς ζαμενῆς Ἑλένοιο Μέμνων μόλοι.

59. ὄφρα κ.τ.λ.] *To the end that sped by potent sea-blasts to Troy he should beneath its walls abide the spear-clashing onslaught and battle-whoop of Lycians and Phrygians and Dardanians, and having fought hand to hand with the Ethiop spearmen should fix in his soul a firm purpose that their chieftain, inspiring Memnon, cousin of Helenus, should never return again to his home.* θαλάσσαι ἀνέμων ῥιπαῖ were an appropriate escort for the son of a queen of the sea (for ῥιπαῖς see above note on i. 68). ὑπὸ Τροίαν depends on πεμφθεῖς.

60. δορίκτυπον] Only found here and *Nem.* vii. 10. The battle cry resounds amid the clash of hurtling spears.

61. ἐπιμίξαις χεῖρας] For Pindar's various uses of ἐπιμύγνυμι compare *Nem.* ix. 31 ἀγλαταῖσιν ἐπιμίξαι λαόν, *Pyth.* ii. 32 αἶμα ἐπέμξε θνατοῖς. For this particular use compare *Pyth.* iv. 212 Κόλχοισιν βίαν μίξαν (and *Xen. Cyr.* ii. 1, 11 συμμύγνυναι χεῖρας).

ἐγχεσφόροις] Pindaric compound, equivalent to Homeric ἐγχέσπαλος.

62. ἐν φρασὶ πάξαιθ'] A strong expression with which commentators compare *Pyth.* viii. 9 ὁπότεν τις καρδίᾳ κότον ἐνελάσῃ, after λ 102 κότον ἐνθετο θυμῷ. Nearer parallels may be found in Latin. Dissen quotes Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 5 *Volleges i vetus et penitus infixum erat arma Romana vitandi*, and Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 15 *si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet, ne cui &c.* Schol. (1) ἵνα ἐμπήξαι τὰς χεῖρας τοῖς Αἰθίοψι καὶ καθέκοιτο τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ πολεμεῖν, (2) ἡ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ φρενῶν τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως δεκτέον τὸν λόγον ἵν' αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας πῆξαιτο, πεπη-

γνίας παράσχοι ταῖς φρεσίν, ἵνα δὲ διανοηθῇ ταῖς φρεσίν ὑπηρετηθῇ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν. ἐνίοτε γὰρ ἐπιθυμοῦμέν τι κατορθῶσαι καὶ ἀσθενοῦμεν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι μὴ ὑπηρετούμενοι ταῖς χερσίν. ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐτράφη ἵν' ὅπερ ἂν διανοηθῇ δυνηθῇ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν κατεργάσασθαι. According to both these explanations χεῖρας is taken with πῆξαιτο, not with ἐπιμίξαις (it is unnecessary to suppose with Schmidt that the scholiasts read ἐπιπῆξαις). There is also another scholium (3) πλαγίως λογίσαιτο καὶ κρίνειν ἂντὶ τοῦ εἰς πέρας ἄγοι, where Abel suggests the insertion of μὴ before πλαγίως, but it seems clear that we should read παγίως. Bergk objecting to the phrase πάξαιθ' ὅπως μὴ reads πάξαι θάπος, assuming θάπος to be a Pindaric form of the Homeric τάφος, and to bear here the sense of *fear* (cf. Hesychius θάπαν· φόβον). I retain the reading of the mss., but I do not feel certain that it is what Pindar wrote. Some further remarks on the matter I reserve for *Appendix A*, note 4. σφίσι is Dative of the persons interested.

63. ἀνεψιός] Priam the father of Helenus and Tithonus the father of Memnon were brothers. Two questions arise here: (1) Why is Helenus singled out as the cousin of Memnon? (2) Why is Memnon called ζαμενῆς? If we could assume that Pindar regarded Memnon as endowed with the gift of prophecy, both questions would be answered at once, for ζαμενῆς is an adjective applied to inspired seers, to Chiron for example (*Pyth.* ix. 38) and Medea (*Pyth.* iv. 10). But there is no authority for attributing such qualities to Memnon. The true answer is given by a right view of the word ζαμενῆς.

τηλαυγὲς ἄραρε φέγγος Αἰακιδᾶν αὐτόθεν.

στρ. δ'

Ζεῦ, τεὸν γὰρ αἶμα, σέο δ' ἀγών, τὸν ὕμνος ἔβαλεν

65

ὅπῃ νέων ἐπιχώριον χάρμα κελαδέων.

βοὰ δὲ νικαφόρῳ σὺν Ἀριστοκλείδᾳ πρόπει,

ὃς τάνδε νᾶσον εὐκλείῃ προσέθηκε λόγῳ

καὶ σεμνὸν ἀγλααῖσι μερίμναις

In *Nem.* IV. 13 (see note) it is an epithet of the Sun, *ζαμενεῖ ἀελίῳ*, by the *genial sun*, and in the same way it is applied here to the son of the Morning (*Nem.* VI. 52 *φαεννᾶς υἱὸν Ἀόος*). In fact *ζαμενής* connotes the quality of inspiration and may be used either of the inspirer or of the inspired (compare English *genial* with German *genial*). Memnon is conceived as having, by virtue of his mother, a touch of supernatural elemental influence, and he is called the cousin of Helenus, because Helenus the prophet would be specially susceptible to such influences. So too, in the passage in the Fourth Nemean already referred to, the poet or musician Timocritus is described as warmed by the inspiring sun.

64. *τηλαυγὲς ἄραρε* κ.τ.λ.] *Hereby the Aeacidae have a star in the firmament, shining afar.* *τηλαυγής* is used of the sun and the moon in the Homeric hymns. In *Pyth.* III. 75 we have *ἀστέρως οὐρανίου τηλαυγέστερον φάος*; in *Pyth.* II. 6 Hiero crowns Ortygia *τηλαυγέσιν στεφάνοις*. (Compare also *Olymp.* VI. 4.) *φέγγος* is more solemn than *φάος*; it is a divine or heavenly light, here of a *star*. *αὐτόθεν* goes with *ἄραρε*, which is equivalent to *ἤρτται*, but see *Appendix A*, note 3.

Pindar seems to conceive that when Achilles killed the son of Morning he spoiled him of his light.

65. *Ζεῦ, τεὸν γὰρ αἶμα*] *Soothly, Zeus, they are thy blood; and thine is the contest which provoked these shafts of song, by the voices of young men singing the gracious joy of this land.* The force of *γὰρ* is *I call on Zeus because*;

Zeus was the father of Aeacus. For the comparison of the hymn to an archer, compare *Ol.* II. 89 *ἔπεχε νῦν σκοπῶ τόξον, ἄγε θυμέ, τίνα βάλλομεν ἐκ μαλθακᾶς αὐτε φρενὸς εὐκλέας δίστοους ἰέντες*; We are also reminded of Tennyson's 'A random arrow from the brain'.

66. *ἐπιχώριον χάρμα*] This expression recalls *χαρίεντα πόνον χώρας ἀγαλμα* in l. 12. *χάρμα* is a cause of joy; compare *Ol.* II. 19 *ἑσλῶν γὰρ ὑπὸ χαρμάτων πῆμα θνάσκει* (also *ib.* 99), *Ol.* X. 22 *ἄπονον δ' ἔλαβον χάρμα παῦροί τινες*, *Isthm.* IV. 54 *καλλίνικον χάρμα*. *Ol.* VII. 44. *Pyth.* VIII. 64 *τὸ μὲν μέγιστον τόθι χαρμάτων ὥπασας*.

67. *σὺν—πρόπει*] For *συμπρέπει*, apparently formed by Pindar. *συμπρεπής*, *fitting*, occurs twice in Aeschylus. *βοὰ* a loud strain.

68. *ὃς τάνδε* κ.τ.λ.] *who wedded this island to glorious praise and the holy Theorion of the Pythian god to bright ambitions.* For this sense of *προστίθημι* compare Herodotus VI. 126 *Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων ἐξευρὼν τὸν ἄριστον τοῦτ' ἡγεναῖκα προσθεῖναι* (*zuertheilen*, Stein).

For its application here Dissen compares *Pyth.* IX. 72 *εὐθαλεῖ συνέμιξε τύχα πόλιν* (where the adjective *εὐθαλής* is appropriate to the metaphor) and *Isthm.* III. 3 *εὐλογίαις μεμῖχθαι*. Notice that *εὐκλείῃ* is here brought into proximity to *Ἀριστοκλείδᾳ*.

69. *ἀγλααῖσι μερίμναις*] This is usually taken as an instrumental Dative; but it seems more natural to connect it with *Θεάριον* as *εὐκλείῃ λόγῳ* is connected with *νᾶσον*. This is confirmed by the consideration that *ἀγλααῖσι* by its position

Πυθίου Θεάριον. ἐν δὲ πείρα τέλος
διαφαίνεται, ὧν τις ἐξοχώτερος γένηται,

70

ἐν παισὶ νέοισι παῖς, ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀνὴρ, τρίτον
ἐν παλαιτέροισι, μέρος ἕκαστον οἶον ἔχονεν
βρότεον ἔθνος. ἐλᾶ δὲ καὶ τέσσαρας ἀρετὰς
ὁ θνατὸς αἰὼν, φρονεῖν δ' ἐνέπει τὸ παρκεῖμενον,

ἀντ. δ'.

75

in the verse corresponds to ἀγλαόκρανον in line 56; and thus Pindar indicates that the marriage of Peleus and bright Thetis is a type. Aegina is wedded to εὐκλεῆς λόγος, not to εὐκλεία; and in the same way the sexual distinction is maintained in the metaphor by linking the college of the Theori of Apollo,—a male and plural conception—to a company of bright Ambitions. For μερίμναις compare *Ol.* i. 106 θεὸς μῆδεταί τεαῖσι μερίμναισιν.

70. Θεάριον] The building in which a permanent college of Theori lived (or met and dined). Mantinea, Troezen, Thasos and other places as well as Aegina had such permanent staffs of religious delegates. It is clear that Aristoclideus was a member of the Aeginetan Thearion. Pausanias (*II.* 31, 6) mentions Thearios as a Dorian name of Apollo.

ἐν δὲ πείρα κ.τ.λ.] *But trial (of strength or skill) revealeth the perfection of those powers in which one may be the winner of excellence, as a boy among young boys, as a man among men, or, lastly, as an elder, according to the three stages of our mortal life.* πείρα is the test of competition; ἐν πείρα, *in the lists*; compare *Nem.* ix. 28 πείραν ἀγάνορα. The force of διαφαίνεται is that trial discloses; the cloud of uncertainty is removed thereby and the perfection (as a fact indisputable) shines through. ὧν is neuter, equivalent to τούτων ἐν οἷς; Mezger's view that it is masculine depending on ἐξοχώτερος ('in der Probe aber zeigt sich die Vollendung, vor wem nämlich einer hervorragt, ob als Knabe unter

Knaben u.s.w.') affords both a loose construction and a loose signification.

72. ἐν παισὶ κ.τ.λ.] The three ages of man were illustrated in this hymn, boyhood and manhood by Achilles as boy and man, advanced age by Peleus. Note that instead of παλαιός or something equivalent Pindar says τρίτον, thus preparing for τέσσαρας in l. 74. Some editors (after some MSS.) take μέρος with τρίτον: I have followed other MSS. in placing the comma after παλαιτέροισι. The construction is τοιοῦτος (in apposition with τις) οἶον μέρος ἕκαστον (ἐστίν δ) ἔχονεν ἡμεῖς βρότεον ἔθνος. Boyhood, early manhood and late manhood are the μέρη of life.

74. ἐλᾶ δὲ καὶ κ.τ.λ.] *But life drives a team of four excellences, for it biddeth man be wise in that which he findeth to do; and these excellences are his.* Each age has its own excellence, and there is further an excellence common to all alike, judgment, φρονεῖν τὸ παρκεῖμενον (for παρκεῖμενος compare *Ol.* XIII. 73). The metaphor in ἐλᾶ, I think, is from driving, not from planting; so *Isthm.* iv. 38 ἔλα πεδόθεν. Mr Fennell, who translates 'forms a series of', seems to take it from planting. The same editor is certainly mistaken in assuming four divisions of life. Compare Mezger, p. 390, who follows Hermann.

ἀρετὰς placed emphatically in the same position of the verse as ἀρεταῖς in 32 indicates that Peleus is a type of one age.

75. ὁ θνατὸς αἰὼν] B and B have ὁ θνατὸς ἔων, D, V, X and Z ὁ μακρὸς αἰὼν.

τῶν οὐκ ἄπειστι. χαῖρε, φίλος. ἐγὼ τόδε τοι
πέμπω μεμιγμένον μέλι λευκῷ
σὺν γάλακτι, κιρναμένα δ' ἔερσ' ἀμφέπει,
πόμ' αἰίδιμον Αἰολῆσιν ἐν πνοαῖσιν αὐλῶν,

ὄψέ περ. ἔστι δ' αἰετὸς ὠκύς ἐν ποτανοῖς, ἐπ. δ'. 80

It is clear (as Mr Tyrrell has pointed out to me) that μακρὸς was introduced by some one who thought that the fourth virtue corresponded to a fourth age, attained only by those who lived long.

76. τῶν οὐκ ἄπειστι] Mezger (after Christ) unnecessarily reads ἄπεισι, a conjecture of Bergk. The rhythm of these words recalls strongly καὶ γὰρ φράδασσε of l. 26. As Heracles reached the ultimate land, so Aristoclide has reached or will reach the perfection of life in all its stages.

χαῖρε, φίλος· κ.τ.λ.] *Rejoice, my friend! Lo, I send you, though at late hour, this honey mixed with white milk, fringed with the froth of blending, a draught of song conveyed in the breathings of Aeolian flutes.* It is a draught to still Aristoclide's thirst, compare διψῇ l. 6. χαῖρε is an appropriate accompaniment of the cup of song,—*drink, hail!* Compare *Pyth.* II. 67 χαῖρε· τόδε μὲν...μέλος...πέμπεται, also *Isthm.* I. 32. It is a congratulatory formula for offering a gift. For μέλι compare above l. 4; also *Olymp.* XI. 98 μέλιτι πόλιν καταβρέχων, *steeping the city in honey*; and frag. 152 μελισσοτεύκτων κηρίων ἐμὰ γλυκερώτερος ὁμφά, *my inspired voice sweeter than honey or the honey-comb.*

Dissen has an excellent note on this passage, which I translate. "The Theban poet finely says: 'I send you a sweet Boeotian draught for your banquet'. For Boeotia was rich in milk and honey, whereas Aegina was a barren island; moreover the reeds of Lake Copais were celebrated; and by 'Aeolian blasts of flutes' (i.e. the Aeolian harmony, to

which the hymn was set) Pindar here, as in other places, signifies Boeotian notes and Boeotian flutes, the Boeotians being Aeolians". Pindar indicates this intention in his own way: Ἰόλα in l. 37 corresponds to Αἰολῆσιν in l. 79. Aeginetan Telamon was comrade of Theban *Iolaus*; a Theban (*Aeolian*) song is a meet guerdon for an Aeginetan victor.

For the mixture of milk and honey von Leutsch cites Aelian *N. A.* 7 ἀμέλγουσι γὰρ ('Ἴνδοι) περιγλύκιστον γάλα καὶ οὐ δέονται ἀναμίξαι αὐτῷ μέλι, ὅπερ οὖν δρῶσιν Ἕλληνες—it was a Hellenic custom. The *blended foam* means the froth that comes from blending ('aufgemischter Schaum', Mezger). For the whole passage compare the opening lines of the Seventh Olympian Ode.

79. πόμ' αἰίδιμον] The adjective explains the metaphor, a favourite mode of expression in Pindar. For example *Nem.* VIII. 15 μίτραν καναχαδὰ πεποικιλμέναν, 46 λάβρον λίθον Μοισαῖον. *Isth.* VI. 19 κλυταῖς ἐπέων ῥοαῖσιν.

80. ἔστι δ' αἰετός κ.τ.λ.] *Swift among the fowls of the air is the eagle, which, swooping from afar, seizeth suddenly the tawny prey with his talons; but the cawing doves fly low.* These words, like many others in Pindar, are charged with a twofold meaning; they refer apparently to the victor and covertly to the poet,—to the Aeginetan as well as to the Theban eagle. (For Pindar's association of the eagle with the Aeacidae, see *Nem.* VI. 47.) By choosing the words *δαφινὸν ἄγραν* Pindar recalls to the mind his description of Achilles in l. 46 λέοντεσσιν ἀγροτέροις ἐπρασσεν

ὃς ἔλαβεν αἶψα, τηλόθε μεταμαϊόμενος, δαφεινὸν ἄγρην ποσὶν
κραγέται δὲ κολοιοὶ ταπεινὰ νέμονται.

τὴν γε μὲν, εὐθρόνου Κλεοῦς ἐθελοίσας, ἀεθλοφόρου λήματος
ἔνεκεν

Νεμέας Ἐπιδαυρόθεν τ' ἄπο καὶ Μεγάρων δέδορκεν φάος.

φόνον, and Achilles in this ode is the chief representative of the Aeacids. The addition ποσὶν too seems chosen for the purpose of recalling ποσσὶ γὰρ κράτεσκε; swiftmess, the traditional quality of Achilles, is made the prominent quality of the eagle. But there is a covert reference in the words too; Pindar is the eagle and his rivals are the daws. The strange word κραγέται, invented by the poet, is not, I think, without significance; it strongly suggests 'κράγας' (Ἀκράγας),—daws of Acragas, and this is confirmed by the fact that on coins of Acragas eagles are represented seizing a hare (such a coin is reproduced in Mr Fennell's edition). We are thus led to conclude that Pindar referred to some Sicilian rivals, associated with the city of Agrigentum. It is worth noting that Aeschylus uses ἀκραγῆς (also ἄπαξ εἰρ.) of the γρῦπες, clearly meaning eagles: *Prom.* 803 ὄξυστόμους Ζηνὸς ἀκραγεῖς κύνας.

The connexion of this sentence with the immediately foregoing words ὁψέ περ is thus brought out by Dissen: 'Sero quidem mittitur carmen, at a poeta, qui, ubi rem aggreditur, eam tractat eximie'. It is not due to chance that μεταμαϊόμενος occurs here in the proximity of 'the draught', and that in the beginning of the ode μαϊόμενοι immediately preceded the 'thirst'.

81. μεταμαϊόμενος] Occurs only here; search after, go in quest of.

82. νέμονται] dwell, move and feed in low places. νέμεσθαι is used of sphere or range, cf. Thucydides, II. 62, 2 ἐφ' ὅσον τε νῦν νέμεσθε as far as you range, 72, 1 ἡσυχίαν ἄγετε νεμόμενοι τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν confining yourselves to the sphere of your own affairs.

83. τὴν γε μὲν κ.τ.λ.] μὲν invariably implies a δέ somewhere, and it would not be safe to follow Mr Fennell in regarding γε μὲν as an equivalent of γε μὴν. Pindar has designedly suppressed the second member of the antithesis, but has taken care, by his allegorical expression of the same thought in the preceding lines, to leave no doubt what it is. To thee, Aristocles, the light of glory hath shone; to others (the dark ones of line 41, the low-flying daws of line 82) no such light hath come. We may translate: *To thee certainly, by favour of fair-throned Clio, and for the sake of thy prize-winning valour, a star hath gleamed from Nemea and from Epidaurus and from Megara.* As Achilles won a constellation of glory by slaying Memnon (l. 64), so Aristocles wins such a light by his victories in the games. See *Appendix A*, note 3 for the force of ἀεθλοφόρον λῆμα. For δέδορκεν compare *Ol.* I. 94 τὸ δὲ κλέος τηλόθεν δέδορκε, the eye of glory shone from afar. εὐθρόνου suggests the representation of the Muse in sculpture.

NEMEAN IV.

ODE IN HONOUR OF A VICTORY IN THE BOYS' PANCRATION AT NEMEA WON BY TIMASARCHUS OF AEGINA.

INTRODUCTION.

THE idea of the fourth Nemean hymn is the sorcery of song, revealing itself in two ways. Song has the faculty of healing and comforting, for it can command the presence of good-cheer or Mirth, who by the Greeks, or as Milton says 'in heaven', was named Euphrosyne; and she is 'the best physician of labours past.' But besides having this gracious faculty, song can confer upon the hero of great exploits a really kingly lot and secure for his fame a longer life than his deeds, unsung, could inherit. These thoughts are cunningly worked out in a double 'eulogy' (l. 5) of the Aeacids and the Theandrids of Aegina. For the boy Timasarchus, who had won a victory in wrestling at Nemea¹, belonged to the Theandrid clan; and Pindar pays this clan the high honour of comparing their deeds to the distinctions of mythical Aeacid heroes.

The hymn, intended to be sung in procession and consisting of twelve strophes, naturally falls into three parts. The first three and the last three stanzas are concerned with the praises of the victor and his kinsfolk; the six middle stanzas are occupied with the Aeacids. This arrangement is agreeably symmetrical; the beginning and the end are of equal length, and the centre is devoted to the myth².

The first strophe, which may be regarded as a prelude, sets forth the magic power of songs, 'daughters of the Muses,' in evoking the Grace Euphrosyne; and compares their comforting quality to the effect of warm water in mollifying weary limbs. Moreover words, provided they be really graceful,—

¹ For the date of the ode we have only the minor limit 457 B.C., the year of the reduction of Aegina by Athens.

² Mezger divides thus: *προοίμιον*, 1—8; *ἀρχά*, 9—32; *κατατροπά*, 33—44; *ὁμφαλός*, 45—68; *μετακατατροπά*, 69—72; *σφραγίς*, 73—96. I cannot see that much is gained by this arrangement, which would admit of further subdivision.

The point on which I would join issue with Mezger is the assignment of 25—32 to the *ἀρχά*. The transition to the mythical world takes place at the end of the third strophe. Mezger rightly says "die Ode preist die Macht des Gesanges." Dissen took an incomplete view when he found the chief idea in the comparison of the Aeacids and Theandrids.

drawn out of the depths of thought 'in a gracious hour of inspiration' *σὺν Χαρίτων τύχῃ*—live longer than deeds. These remarkable lines we shall do well to bear in mind, for fragments of their language are echoed here and there in other parts of the hymn.

It will be observed that Pindar places his poem, as it were, under the care of the Graces, especially Euphrosyne; and allusions may be found to the other two sisters in *ἀγλαὸν* l. 20—suggesting Aglaia presiding over games held near Amphitryon's tomb—and *θάλῃσσε σελίνους* l. 88, implying the presence of Thalia.

The next two strophes are devoted to Timasarchus and his victories, won at Nemea, Athens and Thebes; and a reference is made to his father Timocritus, who was skilled in playing the harp. The visit to Thebes naturally introduces Heracles, in whose honour the games there were celebrated; and Heracles provides the poet with a convenient step to pass to the praises of the Acacidae, as he and Telamon had been comrades in an expedition against Troy¹.

Of Telamon three exploits are mentioned, the sack of Troy, the conquest of the Meropes of Cos, and the slaying of the giant Alcyoneus. This mighty man of Phlegrae, before he fell by the hands of Telamon, had captured twelve chariots, killing the twenty-four heroes, charioteers and fighting men, who were in them. And at this no one, who knows by experience what fighting is, will be amazed; for 'give and take' is the use of battle.

Here Pindar feigns to check himself. If he told the tale of the Acacids at length he would exceed the limits of the projected Ode and the time at his disposal. He feels indeed a spell laid on his soul by the festival of the new moon,—a moon-spell, as it were,—compelling him to touch on the theme. But he must resist the temptation of telling a long story. The principle that one should sow with the hand and not with the full sack—said to have been inculcated by Corinna—had certainly taken root in Pindar's mind and he expresses it here in some curious lines², directed against contemporary poets, who censuring his manner of weaving odes on a warp of myth, used to fill their own compositions with wisdom, expressed abstractly.

After this digression, the lyre is bidden to 'weave' a song, pleasing to Aegina; and an enumeration of great Acacids follows: Teucer king in Cyprus, Ajax in Salamis, Achilles ruling over 'Bright Island' (Leuke) at the mouth of the Danube, Thetis governing Phthia, Neoptolemus reigning over the sloping hills of Epirus, finally Peleus, and of him more is said than of the others. The capture of Iolcos, the plot of Hippolyta, the ambush which Acastus laid, and the assistance given by Chiron the centaur, are briefly touched on. Then the marriage with Thetis, who changed herself into fire

¹ The transition is managed with a relative (l. 25) *ξὺν ᾧ ποτε Τρωῶταν κ.τ.λ.* Exactly in the same way Pindar passes to the myth in the Third Nemean, also at the beginning of a strophe: l. 22 *ἥρω*s

θεὸς ἃς ἔθηκε κ.τ.λ.

² See note on these difficult lines (36 sqq.), whose true meaning was first discerned by Mezger.

and savage beasts to elude his embraces, is described, and we see the kings of heaven receiving Peleus among them, and 'weaving' for him and his race gifts of sovereignty. The marriage of Peleus, like the marriage of Heracles, is an emblem of the highest limit of mortal ambition; we have reached as it were Gades, and have no cause to go further westward. 'The tale of the sons of Aeacus in its completeness it is not in my compass to narrate.'

Two points may be noted here in regard to the foregoing legends. (1) Pindar, as a composer of hymns of victory, and thereby a helper of victors, is compared to Chiron aiding Peleus against the ambush of Acastus. For the expression in l. 61

καὶ τὸ μόρσιμον Διόθεν πεπρωμένον ἔκφερεν

is clearly an echo of

ἐμοὶ δ' ὅποιαν ἀρετὰν ἔδωκε πότμος ἄναξ—χρόνος πεπρωμέναν τελέσει (l. 44)

(Zeus corresponds to Potmos). (2) The gift of song, such as Pindar gives to the victor, is compared to the gift of sovereignty which the gods gave to Peleus and his descendants. This is brought out by the use of the word ἐξυφαίνω in the corresponding line of strophes 6 and 9:

45 ἐξύφαινε γλυκεῖα καὶ τόδ' αὐτίκα φόρμιγξ (μέλος)
68 δῶρα καὶ κράτος ἐξύφανεσσι ἐς γένος αὐτῶ.

It is to be observed too that Thetis herself is an emblem of this sovereignty, κράτος¹. In l. 50 it is said

Θέτις δὲ κρατεῖ Φθίᾳ,

and she changes herself into πῦρ παγκρατές (l. 62).

The further significance of the catalogue of the Aeacid heroes will be explained by an examination of the third part of the Ode.

The distinctions of the Theandrids, consisting chiefly of an Olympic, an Isthmian and a Nemean victory, are celebrated. Besides Timasarchus, his mother's brother Callicles, now dead, is specially mentioned; also his grandfather Euphanes, a poet; and Melesias, the gymnastic trainer of Aegina, receives a word of praise.

By a system of quaint echoes, a parallel is instituted between the excellences of the Theandrids and the sovereignties of the Aeacids; and this comparison is quite in place, subordinate to the main idea of the hymn, that song has the power of conferring a sort of sovereignty².

(1) The rule of Teucer in Cyprus

47 ἔνθα Τεῦκρος ἀπάρχει

is answered by

78 Τιμάσρχε.

¹ "Nicht ohne Absicht wird darum auch Thetis, die in Phthia herrscht (v. 50), eine der hochthronenden Nereiden (v. 65) genannt und die Götter selbst als 'Könige des Himmels und Meeres' (v. 67) bezeichnet." (Mezger.)

² Cf. Mezger p. 397 "es ist in Mythos von lauter Königen die Rede" &c.; and "ein solches Königsloos ist dem Timasarchus zugefallen, da er von einem Dichter besungen wird."

(2) To the sway of Ajax in Salamis

48 Αἴας Σαλαμῖν' ἔχει πατρώαν

responds

77 πάτρην ἵν' ἀκούομεν.

(3) Achilles' white island in the Euxine is compared to the white sepulchral stele in honour of Callicles :

49 ἐν δ' Εὐξείνῳ πελάγει φαεινὰν Ἀχιλεὺς
ναῖσον,

Leuke being the name of this island :

81 στάλαν θέμεν Παρίου λίθου λευκοτέραν.

(4) To the sovereignty of Thetis in Phthia

50 Θέτις δὲ κρατεῖ
Φθία

there was probably an echo in l. 90, which has suffered corruption. Perhaps the original was

αἰεῖσεται φθιμίνοις.

(5) The 'eminent' hills, which characterised Neoptolemus' dominions in the west

52 βουβόται τόθι πρῶνες ἔξοχοι κατὰκεινται

are echoed in the deeds 'most eminent' of l. 92

ἔλπεται τις ἕκαστος ἔξοχώτατα φάσθαι,

the emphatic word occupying the same position in corresponding lines.

(6) Of Peleus it is written

54 Παλίου δὲ παρ ποδὶ λατρίαν Ἰαωλκὸν
πολεμία χερὶ προστραπὼν
Πηλεὺς παρέδωκεν Αἰμόνεσσιν.

The application of the capture of Iolcus to the Theandrids is really subtle. The reader is struck by two points, (a) the curious expression *λατρίαν παρέδωκεν* and (b) the use of *Αἴμονες* for the Thessalians. These two peculiarities give us the clue. In the 10th strophe we meet another curious expression

πάτρην ἵν' ἀκούομεν,
78 Τιμάσαρχε, τεὰν ἐπινικίοισιν αἰδαῖς
πρόπολον ἔμμεναι.

We see at once that both these unusual phrases are chosen for the purpose of corresponding. Iolcus is *subject* unto the Haemonians (we might render, to bring out the point) and the clan of Timasarchus is a *subject* for epinician hymns. And it is with this in view that the poet writes *Αἰμόνεσσιν* 'the Cunning,' to suggest 'the cunning daughters of the Muses' (l. 2 αἱ δὲ σοφαὶ Μοισᾶν θύγατραι αἰδαῖ). Timasarchus is thus compared to Peleus.

It might be said that it was somewhat incongruous to draw a comparison between the numerous glories of the Aeacids and the somewhat meagre list of achievements which the kinsfolk of Timasarchus could produce ; and it is interesting to observe how Pindar alludes to this criticism and meets it. He implies that the Olympic victory of Callicles was an exploit which rendered

further proofs of excellence almost superfluous. This is the thought that underlies

82 ὁ χρυσὸς ἐψόμενος
αὐγὰς ἔδειξεν ἀπάσας,

gold being the emblem of an Olympic crown, and ἀπάσας echoing

ἄπορα γὰρ λόγον Αἰακοῦ
72 παίδων τὸν ἅπαντά μοι διελθεῖν

whereby it is meant that a family which can boast of an Olympic victory is worthy of comparison even with the Aeacids.

In the last lines of the hymn, there is another allusion to the criticisms which rival poets made on Pindar. Adopting, in compliment to the trainer Melesias, expressions of the wrestling school, he describes himself as

94 ἀπάλαιστος ἐν λόγῳ ἔλκειν
μαλακὰ μὲν φρονέων ἐσλοῖς
τραχὺς δὲ παλιγκότοις ἔφεδρος.

Here ἔλκειν alludes to ἔνγχι δ' ἔλκομαι ἦτορ (l. 35)—the 'drawing' which he resisted; and the meaning of λόγῳ is mythical tale (as in ll. 31 and 71), wherein he might claim preeminence. The παλιγκότοι of 96 are the δάιοι of 38. But for the full import of these lines I must refer to my discussion in *Appendix A*, note 5.

In the catalogue of the Aeacids Neoptolemus is specially significant. Pindar is fond of likening the mimic battles of wrestlers and boxers to real war, and in Neoptolemus, whose name meant 'young warrior,' he might find a prototype of Timasarchus, the boy-wrestler. And Pindar indicates the significance of Neoptolemus in his own way, by the use of a striking expression. 'The ἔνγξ νεομηνία,' he suggests, 'naturally draws me to the Ἰόνιος πόρος and the realm of Νεοπτόλεμος.' l. 35

ἔνγχι δ' ἔλκομαι ἦτορ νεομηνία θιγέμεν
responds to l. 51

Φθία· Νεοπτόλεμος δ' Ἀπεῖρῳ διαπρυσία.

And the second element of *Neoptolemus* is also significant. The βουβόται πρῶνες are subject unto him, even as the βουβότας Alcyoneus was made subject unto Telamon. κρατεῖ expresses the sovereignty of Neoptolemus (l. 50); κραταιός is the epithet of Telamon. The warrior Telamon subdues

l. 27 καὶ τὸν μέγαν πολεμίσταν ἔκπαγλον Ἀλκυνονῇ

and the name of Neoptolemus echoes this note of war in the same foot of the same line of strophe 7:

l. 51 Φθία· Νεοπτόλεμος δ' Ἀπεῖρῳ διαπρυσία.

Having seen the relations subsisting between the myth and the concluding portion of the hymn, we may observe how here, as in the Third Nemean, the last part is resonant with words answering to phrases in the 'beginning.' In the first line of the 10th strophe the adjective ἀξιγνίων, coined by Pindar, reminds us of γνῖα in the 1st strophe, where song is said to be an emollient of the limbs.

Again in the 1st line of the 11th strophe there is a punctual responsion to *θέμεν* in the 1st line of the 2nd strophe :

- l. 9 τό μοι θέμεν Κρονίδα τε Δι καὶ Νεμέα,
l. 81 στάλαν θέμεν Παρίου λίθου λευκοτέραν.

The hymn which Pindar 'sets up' is to be at once a *κῶμος* for Timasarchus, and a funeral stele for his dead kinsfolk.

Moreover the comforting power of song, praised in the 1st stanza, is explained in the 11th, by its glorifying power : it can make a man equal in fortune to kings. *τεύχει* in l. 84 sets a seal on *τεύχει* in l. 4¹.

- l. 4 οὐδὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ τόσον γε μαλθακὰ τεύχει,
l. 84 ἐργμάτων βασιλεῦσιν ἰσοδαίμονα τεύχει.

And *ἐργμάτων* in this line echoes the expression in

- l. 6 ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει,
ῥῆμα being accurately answered in

- l. 94 ῥήματα πλέκων².

Again *γλῶσσαν εὐρέτω κελαδῆτιν* (an adjective found only here) in l. 86, recalls *νῖον κελάδησε καλλίνικον* (l. 16).

METRICAL ANALYSIS.

- πν. 1—2. α ♂ | ♀ ♂ — — — — — ♀ — — — — — (9)
πν. 3—4. β — | ♀ — — — — — ♂ ♀ — — — — — Λ ♀ — — — — — ♀ — — — — — | (13)
πν. 5—6. β' ♀ — — — — — ♂ ♀ — — — — — Λ ♀ — — — — — ♀ — — — — — (13)
πν. 7—8. α' ♂ — — — — — — — ♀ — — — — — — — | (9)

It is to be observed that each strophe ends with an apparently acatalectic verse and begins with an anacrusis. Hence M. Schmidt deduced that the scansion was continuous, the anacrusis belonging to the last syllable of the preceding line, and the penultimate syllable of that line being a *μακρὰ τρίσημος*. For instance *τὸ*, the first word of the second strophe, rhythmically appertains to *βαθείας*, which precedes : thus *βαθείας. τό=*

♂ | ♀ — — — — —

By this means Schmidt has shewn that the first two and the last two verses in each strophe produce measures (*μεγέθη*) equal in length (27 *zeitig*) ; and the first strophe for example is symmetrically divided at the emphatic word *ταίχει*.

Thus here we have an interesting example of the continuation of the rhythm beyond the end of the verse. "Da diese aber auch an der Stelle stattfindet, wo die beiden gleichen *μεγέθη* sich berühren, kann nicht der mindeste Zweifel mehr zurückbleiben dass grade dadurch die Einheitlichkeit des Systems gefestigt werden sollte."

The rhythm of this ode is logaoedic. We learn from line 45 that the mood was Lydian. In the 8th Book of the *Politics* Aristotle remarks that the Lydian mood was suitable for boys' voices. Its character was plaintive, and perhaps Pindar's choice of it for this hymn was determined by the reference to Timocritus, the dead father of Timasarchus. In the Eighth Nemean we shall find Lydian harmony combined with 'dactylo-epitritic' rhythm.

¹ This responsion was noted by Mezger.

² This responsion also was noted by Mezger.

NEMEONIKAI Δ'.

ΤΙΜΑΣΑΡΧΩΙ ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΗΙ

ΠΑΙΔΙ ΠΑΛΛΙΣΤΗΙ.

Ἄριστος εὐφροσύνα πόνων κεκριμένων

στρ. α'.

ἰατρός· αἱ δὲ σοφαὶ

Μοισᾶν θύγατρες ἀοιδαὶ θέλξαν νιν ἀπτόμεναι.

οὐδὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ τόσον γε μαλθακὰ τεύχει

γυῖα, τόσον εὐλογία φόρμιγγι συνάορος.

5

ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει,

1. ἄριστος κ.τ.λ.] *Gladness is the best physician of accomplished toils; and songs the artful daughters of the Muses can charm her forth by their touch.* Εὐφροσύνα combines the ideas of gladness of heart and good cheer. κεκριμένων is explained by the scholiast as κρῖσιν λαβόντων, συντελεσθέντων (*peractorum*, Dissen, *überstanden*, Mezger). The labours no longer await judgment. In *Nem.* VI. 2 the participle is used in a different sense.

3. θέλξαν νιν] Mezger has rightly explained: 'die Lieder zaubern ihn (den Frohsinn) hervor', comparing for this use of θέλγω, *Anthol. Gr.* IX. 544 τοῖσιν θέλγω ἀννημελῆν. [The same explanation will be found in Liddell and Scott.] It seems probable that Aristarchus took the words thus, and that the scholiast misunderstood him as assigning the more usual meaning of *soothe* to θέλξαν. The view of the scholiast is that νιν refers to πόνους.

4. οὐδὲ θερμόν κ.τ.λ.] *Nor doth warm water so softly soothe the limbs as doth speech of praise, linked with the lyre.*

Some editors read τέγξει after Plutarch (*de Tranquill.* c. 6), but the MSS. are right, as is proved by the recurrence of τεύχει in the same foot of the same line of the 11th strophe. τεύχει μαλθακὰ = *mollia reddit*, mollify, comfort. For τόσον—τόσσον compare Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo*, 94 οὐδὲ πόλει τόσ' ἐνειμεν ὀφέλιμα τόσσα Κυρήνη. Homer 'links' the lyre with the banquet, *θ.* 99 ἧ δαιτὶ συνήορός ἐστι θαλεῖη. συνήορος (schol. *κοινωνοῦσα*) means linked, *juncta* (as the Graces in art), not 'wedded' (as Holmes translates). Pindar would not have married two feminine conceptions. Compare Horace's *verba loquor socianda chordis*.

6. ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων κ.τ.λ.] *But a word hath longer span of life than deeds,—what word soever the tongue should draw forth from the soul's depths in the gracious hour of inspiration.* After ὅ τι κε we should expect the subjunctive and Bergk reads ἐξέλη. But the optative seems to express the event as more contingent, and thus, as Dissen says, is more modest (*modestior optativus in re quae non sine Gratiarum ope fit*).

ὅ τι κε σὺν Χαρίτων τύχα
γλώσσα φρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας.

τό μοι θέμεν Κρονίδα τε Δὶ καὶ Νεμέα
Τιμασάρχου τε πάλῃ
ὕμνου προκώμιον εἶη· δέξαιτο δ' Αἰακιδᾶν
ἡὔπυργον ἔδος, δίκῃ ξεναρκέϊ κοινὸν
φέγγος. εἰ δ' ἔτι ζαμενεῖ Τιμόκριτος ἀελίῳ
σὸς πατὴρ ἐθάλπετο, ποικίλον κιθαρίζων
θάμα κε τῷδε μέλει κλιθεῖς

στρ. β'.

10

15

8. φρενὸς βαθείας] This expression recalls Pindar's adjectives βαθυμήτα and βαθύδοξος (*Pylh.* i. 66), also Aeschylus' βαθείαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος (*S. c. T.* 578). In *Ol.* ii. 54 Wealth is characterized as βαθείαν ὑπέχων μέριμναν ἀγροτέρων. The metaphor here is a deep-delved storehouse of song, to which the tongue has the key. Compare also *Nem.* iii. 9 μήτιος ἀμᾶς ἄπο.

9. τό μοι κ.τ.λ.] Such a word may it be mine to set up, in honour of Zeus son of Cronos and of Nemea and of the wrestling match of Timasarchus, as prelude and frontage of a hymn. θέμεν suggests the setting up and dedicating of a work of architecture or sculpture (cf. below l. 81); the προκώμιον is related to the κῶμος or hymn, as the πρόναος to the ναός. ὕμνου προκώμιον is equivalent to κώμου προοίμιον. For the association of Zeus and the victor in the proem compare *Nem.* i. 8.

12. ἡὔπυργον] Embattled towers were a feature of the city of Aegina. It was so strongly fortified that it held out against the Athenians for nine months. See Müller, *Aeginet.* p. 146. In Homer εὔπυργος is an epithet of Troy.

12. δίκῃ ξεναρκέϊ κ.τ.λ.] With justice that bestedeth strangers, lighting all the world. For Aegina's hospitality, cp. *Nem.* iii. 2. ξεναρκής, protecting foreigners, is only found here. Hartung reads Ξεναρκεῖ, referring to the father of

Aristomenes mentioned in the Eighth Pythian ode.

κοινὸν φέγγος] The scholia are in doubt whether this phrase refers to Aegina or to the hymn: ἔστι μὲν καὶ τὴν Αἴγινα ἀκοῦσαι, ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ ποίημα, τὸ κοινὸν φέγγος γινόμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ ἐν ἀφανεῖ τὰ ἔργα ἀλλὰ φωτίζει κοινῶς. Hartung approves of the second explanation, but I think wrongly.

13. εἰ δ' ἔτι κ.τ.λ.] But if thy father Timocritus were still warmed by the genial sun artfully sweeping the lyre, he would have often, supported by this strain, celebrated his triumphant son, for having sent home a wreath of crowns from the games of Cleonae and from rich Athens of auspicious name, and because at seven-gated Thebes beside the bright tomb of Amphitryon the Cadmeans, full fain for Aegina's sake, crowned him with flowers.

For ζαμενεῖ inspiring (Bergk ζαμενής, Lehrs ζαθερεῖ) see note on *Nem.* iii. 63. Timocritus was a kitharistes, not a kitharodos.

15. τῷδε μέλει κλιθεῖς] Leaning against this strain, as against a pillar or support. The words and the music mutually support each other. Compare κλονι κεκλιμένη, ζ 307. τῷδε is almost equivalent to τοιῷδε, compare τό above l. 9, and perhaps refers partly to the Lydian harmony. Timocritus would have played in Lydian mood. See below, l. 45 Ἀνδία σὺν ἁρμονίᾳ μέλος.

υἷὸν κελάδησε καλλίνικον

Κλεωναίου τ' ἀπ' ἀγῶνος ὄρμον στεφάνων

στρ. γ'.

πέμψαντα καὶ λιπαρᾶν

εὐνύμων ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν, Θήβαις τ' ἐν ἑπταπύλοις,

οὔνεκ' Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἀγλαὸν παρὰ τύμβον

20

Καδμεῖοί νιν οὐκ ἀέκοντες ἄνθεσι μίγνυνον,

16. υἷὸν] A curious but intelligible corruption has here crept into the MSS., ὕμνον κελάδησε καλλίνικον. The scribe associated ὕμνον with καλλίνικον (coming after κελάδησε) and thought that σὸς πατήρ excluded υἷὸν. But υἷὸν is absolutely required both by the construction and by the third personal pronoun νιν in l. 21. In l. 16 the transition from second to third person is an elegance, in l. 21 it would be harsh. The restoration of υἷὸν is due to Bergk and was also proposed by Hartung who observed that καὶ ἀπὸ Θηβῶν ἔπεμψας αὐτῷ στέφανον in one scholium points to a personal subject to πέμψαντα. Mr Fennell proposes παῖδ' ἀγκελάδησε, on the ground that the words of the scholiast ἀνευφήμισε καὶ ἀνεβάλετο presuppose some qualification of κελάδησε. It seems to me that a copyist who had this reading before him would never have written ὕμνον κελάδησε. Mezger accepts πέμψαντος, the reading of some MSS. in l. 18, and takes it as dependent on ὕμνον. Mommsen proposed κελάδη (for ἐκελάδει) σε.

17. Κλεωναίου] 'Dicit Cleωναῖον ἀγῶνα Nemea, quum Cleonaei diu praesides essent horum ludorum', Dissen. Compare Κλεωναίων πρὸς ἀνδρῶν, *Nem.* x. 42. ὄρμοι of flowers are mentioned in *Ol.* 11. 74.

18. λιπαρᾶν] So *Isthm.* 11. 20 ταῖς λιπαραῖς ἐν Ἀθάναις, Aristoph. *Acharnians* 639 εἰ δέ τις ὑμᾶς ὑποθωπεύσας λιπαρὰς καλέσειεν Ἀθήνας, εὗρετο πᾶν ἄν διὰ τὰς λιπαρὰς, ἀφῶν τιμὴν περιάψας.

19. Θήβαις τ' ἐν κ.τ.λ.] Dissen is certainly mistaken in taking ἐν Θήβαις τε

with στεφάνων. τε coordinates οὔνεκα μίγνυνον with πέμψαντα. The scholiasts say that these games were the Ἰολαεία (and Pausanias notices a gymnasium and stadium 'of Iolaus', *ix.* 23, 1), but quote Didymus to the effect that, though the gymnasium was called Ἰολαεῖον the games were Ἡράκλεια.

20. τύμβον] The tomb of Amphitryon was near the Proetid gate, where was the stadion in which the games at the festivals of Heracles and Iolaus were celebrated. See Pausanias *ix.* 23.

22. Αἰγίνας ἔκατι] A strong affirmation of the friendship of Aegina and Thebes.

φίλοισι γάρ κ.τ.λ.] *For as a friend unto friends having come to the happy hall of Heracles he surveyed their hospitable city.* It is to be noticed that ἐλθὼν goes, not with ἄστν, but with πρὸς αὐλάν. φίλοισι is dative of the persons interested and goes closely with ἄστν. The reading of the MSS. κατέδρακεν should (with Mommsen) be preserved. For καταδέρκομαι cf. δ 16 αὐτοὺς ἥελιός καταδέρκεται. It is clear that the Aula of Heracles was on high ground.

(1) Triclinius read κατέδραμεν which Dissen renders *subiit* (=κατέδυ), Mezger 'er lief durch die Stadt hinab'. Mr Fennell thinks the 'metaphor is from navigation', *ran into port*; but it would hardly be felicitous to use such a phrase of one coming to an inland city. (2) A scholiast read ἄστν κατ' ἔδρακεν as appears from his note, καὶ τὸ εὔξενον ἄστν καταλαβὼν τὰς Θήβας, ἡδυνήθη κατ' εὐχὴν θεάσασθαι τὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους αὐλήν. He

Λιγίνας ἕκατι. φίλοισι γὰρ φίλος ἐλθὼν
ξένιον ἄστυ κατέδρακεν
Ἥρακλέος ὀλβίαν πρὸς αὐλάν.

ξὺν ᾧ ποτε Ἵροϊαν κραταιὸς Τελαμὼν
πόρθησε καὶ Μέροπας
καὶ τὸν μέγαν πολεμιστὰν ἔκπαγλον Ἀλκονῆ,
οὐ τετραορίας γε πρὶν δυνώδεκα πέτρῳ
ἥρωάς τ' ἐπεμβεβαῶτας ἵπποδάμους ἔλεν
δις τόσους. ἀπειρομάχας ἑὼν κε φανείῃ
λόγον ὁ μὴ συνιείς· ἐπεὶ
ρέζοντά τι καὶ παθεῖν ἔοικεν.

τὰ μακρὰ δ' ἐξενέπειν ἐρύκει με τεθμός
στρ. δ'. 25

also read ὀλβιος (κατ' εὐχὴν) ; see Bergk's note on the line. (3) Bergk proposes κατέδρασεν, in the sense of κατέβαλεν 'overthrew his opponent in wrestling', ἔδρα being a technical phrase in wrestling (Theophr. *Char.* 27 τὴν ἔδραν στρέφειν, Theocr. xxiv. 109 ἐδροστρόφοι ἄνδρες). But the mere fact that he is obliged to read παρ' αὐλάν for πρὸς αὐλάν in l. 24 is decisive against this proposal.

24. Ἥρακλέος αὐλάν] This is generally supposed to be the Heracleion mentioned by Pausanias (ix. 11) as standing just outside the Electra gate.

25. ξὺν ᾧ κ.τ.λ.] *With whom doughty Telamon once on a time destroyed Troy and the Meropes, and the mighty warrior, fell Alcyoneus, yet not ere he had subdued twelve chariots by hurling rocks and twice as many steed-taming heroes who drave therein.* The Meropes inhabited the island of Cos. Of Heracles in Cos, we read in Homer Ξ 255 καὶ μιν ἔπειτα Κῶωνδ' εὖ ναιομένην ἀπένεικας. The battle of Alcyoneus and Heracles took place at Phlegrae. These three expeditions of Heracles are mentioned together in the Fifth Isthmian Ode (31 sqq.) :

εἶλε δὲ Περγαμίαν πέφνεν δὲ σὺν κείνῳ
Μερόπων

ἔθνεα καὶ τὸν βουβόταν οὐρεῖ ἴσον

Φλέγραισιν εὐρὼν Ἀλκονῆ σφετέρας οὐ
φείσατο

χερσὶν βαρυφθόγγιοι νευρᾶς Ἥρακλῆς. The form ξὺν does not occur elsewhere in Pindar, except in composition.

30. δις τόσους] In each chariot there was a charioteer and a παραβάτης. In l. 29 the quantity of the second syllable of ἥρωας is not determined, a long or a short being equally admissible. But in four places in Pindar the ω is short: *Pyth.* I. 53, III. 7, IV. 58 and frag. 133.

ἀπειρομάχας κ.τ.λ.] *Battle-skilless would he show himself to be, whose understandeth not my tale ; for it is not strange that he who doth a deed should suffer.*

The tale will be understood by the Theandridae who are not ἀπειρομάχαι but πείραν ἔχοντες, see line 76, and especially by Timasarchus, who had really earned his victory. Schol. ὡς γὰρ Ἥρακλῆς ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐλείπετο, ὕστερον δὲ ἐνίκησεν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἀθλητής. ὥστε εἰκὸς εἶναι αὐτὸν πεπτωκέναι ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον ὑπομείναι.

32. ῥέζοντα παθεῖν] This is the principle of reciprocity ; whereas Aeschylus' celebrated δρᾶσαντι παθεῖν is the law of retribution. Compare Sophocles, fr. 210, quoted by the scholiast ;

τὸν δρῶντά ποῦ τι καὶ παθεῖν ὀφείλεται.

33. τὰ μακρὰ δ' κ.τ.λ.] *From telling*

ᾠραὶ τ' ἐπειγόμεναι·

ἵγγι δ' ἔλκομαι ἦτορ νεομηνία θιγέμεν.

ἔμπα, κείπερ ἔχει βαθεῖα ποντιάς ἵλμα

μέσσον, ἀντίτειν' ἐπιβουλία· σφόδρα δόξομεν

δαΐων ὑπέρτεροι ἐν φάει καταβαίνειν·

φθονερά δ' ἄλλος ἀνὴρ βλέπων

γνώμαν κενεάν σκότῳ κυλίνδει

35

40

the long tale to the end the rule of my art withholdeth me, and the onward pressing hours. *ἐξενέπειν*, to relate completely. A passage in the First Isthmian throws light on this sentence; l. 60 πάντα δ' ἐξειπείν... ἀφαιρείται βραχὺ μέτρον ἔχον ὕμνος. The structure of the Ode depends on fixed principles; the time allotted to this ode is fixed; and thus it is impossible to give more than a certain space to each subject. For *τεθμός* compare *Ol.* vii. 88 τίμα μὲν ὕμνον τεθμόν Ὀλυμπιονίκαν, and *Isth.* v. 20 τέθμόν μοι φαμί σαφέστατον. Here probably Pindar intended that *τεθμός* should recall *θέμεν* of l. 9. For *ἐρύκειν* with infinitive compare Euripides, *Heracl.* 691 μή τοί μ' ἔρυκε δρᾶν παρεσκευασμένον.

35. *ἵγγι* κ.τ.λ.] But I am drawn on by a new-moon-charm to touch thereon (that is, upon the tale of the Aeacidae). The context clearly shews that Disson was right in not taking *νεομηνία* as the object of *θιγέμεν* (a possible construction suggested by *ἡσυχία θιγέμεν* in *Pyth.* iv. 296). But I think he is hardly right in taking it as a temporal dative.—*νεομηνία* (sc. *ἡμέρα*) is merely the feminine of the adjective *νομηνίος* which occurs in Lucian (*νομηνίοι ἄρτοι*, *Lexiphanes* 6). There is no reason why *νομηνία* should not qualify *ἵγγι*. *ἵγγι* is properly a moon-charm, Ἰώ being the moon-goddess at Argos; and the choice of the word here is suggested by *νεομηνία*. *ἔλκομαι* is the *vox propria* for the attractive working of a magic charm; so in Theocritus *Pharmakentria*, *ἵγγι*, ἔλκε τὸ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρα.

36. *ἔμπα* κ.τ.λ.] Albeit the deep sea brine hold thee up to the waist, yet strain against the conspiring waves. Surely reaching land in the full light of day we shall seem superior to our foes; while another man, with the (blind) eyes of envy, in a dark space whirlleth a fruitless saw that falleth to the ground. The metaphor is that of a man struggling with the sea; and in compliment to the victorious *παλαιστής* the struggle is represented as a wrestling match (cf. *μέσσον ἔχει*: Aristoph. *Acharn.* 571 ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔχομαι μέσος).—I have adopted Donaldson's *κείπερ* (accepted by Bergk) for *καίπερ* which demands the participle.

βαθεῖα ἄλμα, suggesting *φρενὸς βαθείας* of l. 8, points the meaning of the passage. The idea is: I adhere to my principle of making myths the centres of my epinician hymns; and I shall certainly bear the palm, provided the very depth of my imagination does not seduce me into exceeding the due limits. Perhaps Pindar was thinking of the advice which Corinna is said to have given him in his youth.

38. *ἐν φάει καταβαίνειν*] Not like 'the dark man' of *Nem.* iii. 41 who οὐ ποτ' ἀτρεκέϊ κατέβα ποδὶ. Το *ἐν φάει* is opposed *σκότῳ* in l. 40.

40. *γνώμαν*] Moral reflexions, maxims, saws, as opposed to *λόγος* (cf. l. 31) and *μῦθος*. *κυλίνδει* *iactat* 'tosses about', suggesting that the *γνώμαι* are trite as well as empty. *χαμαί πετοῖσαν* (= *πεσοῦσαν*), aorist because it is a momentary act, opp. to *κυλίνδει*.

χαμαὶ πετοῖσαν. ἐμοὶ δ' ὅποιαν ἄρετάν
 ἔδωκε πότμος ἄναξ,
 εὖ Φοῖδ' ὅτι χρόνος ἔρπων πεπρωμέναν τελέσει.
 ἐξύφαινε, γλυκεῖα, καὶ τόδ' αὐτίκα, φόρμιγξ,
 Λυδία σὺν ἁρμονίᾳ μέλος πεφιλημένον
 Οἰνῶνα τε καὶ Κύπρῳ, ἔνθα Τεῦκρος ἀπάρχει
 ὁ Τελαμωνιάδας· ἀτὰρ
 Αἴας Σαλαμῖν' ἔχει πατρώαν·

στρ. 5'.

45

ἐν δ' Εὐξείνῳ πελάγει φαεννὰν Ἀχιλεὺς
 νᾶσον· Θέτις δὲ κρατεῖ

στρ. 5'.

50

41. ἐμοὶ δ' ὅποιαν] *But whatsoever excellence lord Destiny gave me, the course of time will, I am well assured, bring to its allotted perfection.* The excellence meant by Pindar is the art of weaving legends into his Epinician Odes. For πότμος ἄναξ, compare *Nem.* v. 40 and *Pyth.* III. 86 λαγέταν γάρ τοι τύραννον δέρεται σ' ὁ μέγας πότμος.

43. πεπρωμέναν] Proleptic with τελέσει. Compare below l. 61.

44. ἐξύφαινε κ.τ.λ.] *Sweet lyre, weave out forthright on warp of Lydian harmony the woof of this lay also, beloved by Oenone and Cyprus.* Compare *Pyth.* IV. 275 τὴν δὲ τούτων ἐξυφαίνονται χάριτες. καὶ τόδ', is *this song also*, in spite of cavillers. Some translate *and that too immediately*, but such a sense is pointless here.

46. Οἰνῶνα τε καὶ Κύπρῳ] Oenone is the old name of Aegina, and Pindar seems to have chosen it here in order to suggest, by the collocation with Κύπρῳ, wine and love (οἶνος and Κύπρις), symbols of Euphrosyne. The song of the Theban is beloved by Aegina (πεφιλημένον), as the Aeginetan lay was beloved by Thebes (φίλοισι φίλος, l. 22).

ἀπάρχει] (1) In later writers ἀπάρχω means to lead off a dance, and Mezger attempts unsuccessfully to introduce this meaning here. He translates 'er eröffnet den Reigen—der im Folgenden aufgeführten Könige aus dem Aeakiden-geschlecht'. As there is no special reason

for beginning with Teucer, there is little point in such a statement; moreover (especially coming after ἐνθα) the word would require some explanatory addition. (2) Mr Fennell suggests that "the word may here mean 'receive ἀπαρχαί' i.e. offerings made to the dead hero-founder of the Aeakid colony in Cyprus", arguing that ἀπάρχομαι (offer firstfruits) is a 'causal middle'. The supposition that ἀπάρχω could mean *receive an ἀπαρχή* seems to me extremely hazardous. (3) The most simple and satisfactory explanation is that ἀπό has the same force as in ἀποικέω, ἀποδημέω etc. ἀποικεῖ means *he lives at a distance*; ἀπάρχει means *he reigns at a distance* (in the new Salamis), and contrasts with ἔχει πατρώαν in l. 48. So Dissen, *Teucer procul a patria regnat*. Some emendations have been proposed: Bergk ἀπάρκει (=ἀπῆρκει *secessit*, cf. Hesychius, ἀπῆρκεν* ἀπεδήμηκεν), Pauw ἐπάρχει, Rauchenstein ἀποικεῖ. BD have the lemma ὑπάρχει. The scholiast interprets by ἡγεμονεύει.

49. φαεννὰν νᾶσον] Leuce (White island, now Snake island), at the mouth of the Ister, where there was a temple of Achilles probably founded by Aeginetan sailors. A scholium explains the name of the island—διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐννεοσειόντων ὀρνέων ἥτοι ἐρωδιῶν· φαντασίαν γὰρ τοιαύτην τοῖς πλέουσι παρέχει.

50. Θέτις] The cult of Thetis was widely spread in Thessaly, and as the

Φθίᾳ· Νεοπτόλεμος δ' Ἀπείρῳ διαπρυσίᾳ,
 βουβόται τόθι πρῶνες ἔξοχοι κατάκεινται
 Δωδώνῃθεν ἀρχόμενοι πρὸς Ἴόνιον πόρον.
 Παλίου δὲ παρ ποδὶ λατρίαν Ἰαωλκὸν
 πολεμία χερὶ προστραπὼν
 Πηλεὺς παρέδωκεν Αἰμόνεσσιν,

55

δίαμαρτος Ἰππολύτας Ἀκάστου δολίαις
 τέχναισι χρησάμενος.

στρ. η'.

wife of the Aeginetan hero Peleus she has a place in this enumeration. One scholium mentions a Θετίδειον or Thetis-temple at Phthia; another quotes Pherecydes: *ἔπειτα Πηλεὺς ᾤχετο εἰς Φθίαν καὶ Θέτιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων τούτων ἄγων οἰκεῖ ἐν Φαρσάλῳ καὶ ἐν Θετιδίῳ ὃ καλεῖται ἀπὸ τῆς Θέτιδος πόλεως.*

51. **Νεοπτόλεμος δ' κ.τ.λ.]** *But Neoptolemus rules over the long tract of Epirus where high latons of pasturage recline, shelving even from Dodona as far as the Ionian strait.* διαπρύσιος is a Homeric word, occurring in P 748 πρῶν πεδίοιο διαπρύσιος τετυχηκώς, while the adverb διαπρύσιον is used of piercing sound. Mr Fennell is right in connecting it with διαπρό (Aeolic *διαπρυ) and in explaining it to mean 'right through'. Here it is used of a line of hills, just as in the Homeric passage it is used of one hill.

52. **ἔξοχοι]** *prominences*, above the lower lands. So in Homer, I' 227 ἔξοχος Ἀργείων...κεφαλὴν, of height. κατάκεινται (*reclinant, cubant*) *lie down*, of sloping hills, opposed to steeper hills which *stand up* (e.g. ὀρθόπους πάγος Soph. *Antigone*, 985). Horace's *Usticae cubantis* recurs to the mind. βουβότης is a Pindaric word; in *Isthm.* v. 32 the giant Alcyoneus is called τὸν βουβόταν. Schol. βουτρόφος γὰρ ἡ Ἰππειρος.

54. **Παλίου δέ κ.τ.λ.]** The domination of the Minyae in Thessaly was succeeded by the rule of the Thessalians, and this change was connected in legend with Peleus. Peleus quarrelled with

Acastus the last king of the Minyae and sacked his town Iolcus. The cause of the hostility was the love and vengeance of Hippolyta, Acastus' queen, who played the same part towards Peleus that Sthenoboea played towards Bellerophon, whose story may be read in the sixth Book of the *Iliad*. See *Nem.* v. 26 sqq.

The reading of the mss. λατρίαν is both untranslatable and unmetrical (a molossus instead of a cretic), and I have not hesitated to adopt Schmid's λατρίαν. (So in *Ol.* XIII. 68, ἵππειον should be corrected to ἵππιον.) λάτριος is a Pindaric adjective, occurring *Ol.* x. 28 λάτριον...μισθόν, *the hire of a servant*. Here it is to be taken with παρέδωκεν, *handed over to serve*. λατρεία being a wellknown word and λάτριος very rare, the corruption was most natural.

55. **πολεμία χερὶ προστραπὼν]** *Having turned towards it, but with hostile (not suppliant or entreating) hand.* προστρέπω is regularly used of turning towards in prayer. Bergk after Heyne reads προτραπὼν, *having impelled*, which is weak.

56. **Αἰμόνεσσιν]** Thessalians. Haemonia was a name of Thessaly.

58. **τέχναισι χρησάμενος]** The uses of χρῆσθαι, *to experience* (cited by Dissen), with τύχῃ, δυστυχίαις, δυσπραγίαις, συμφοραῖς &c. do not support such a use of χρησάμενος, the reading of the mss., in this passage. All these datives describe a state of the person experiencing, not the objective cause of an experience.

τῇ Δαιδάλου δὲ μαχαίρα φύτενέ Foi θάνατον
ἐκ λόχου Πελῖαιο παῖς· ἄλαλκε δὲ Χείρων,
καὶ τὸ μόρσιμον Διόθεν πεπωμένον ἔκφερεν·

60

Mingarelli and Matthiae proposed or accepted a conjecture mentioned by Triclinius, *χωσάμενος*; and Bergk has adopted in his text an ingenious conjecture of his own *τέχναις χαρασσάμενος*, bearing the same meaning as *χωσάμενος* (*χαρασσάμενος*=*χαραχθεὶς*, *angry with*). But the reading of the MSS. is not necessarily wrong because the explanation of Dissen will not hold. *χρῆσθαι* with such a dative as *τέχναισιν* naturally means (not to experience involuntarily but) *to make use of or to deal with*. Peleus dealt with the sly arts of Hippolyta and used them for his own purpose. They led to his sacking Iolcus; that was the use he made of them. Cf. schol. *χολωθείς ταῖς γεννηθείσαις ἐξ Ἀκάστου γυναικὸς δολαῖς τέχναις καὶ ταύταις εἰς πόρθησιν τῆς Ἰωλκοῦ αἰτία χρησάμενος ὅτι ἐπεβουλεύθη*.

59. **Δαιδάλου μαχαίρα**] A sword forged by Daedalus or Hephaestus for Peleus and stolen by Acastus. Bergk has successfully defended *Δαιδάλου* the reading of the MSS., which had been abandoned by Boeckh and most editors in favour of *δαιδάλω*, a conjecture of Didymus. Bergk has shewn that Daedalus was a name of Hephaestus by a passage in the *Hercules Furens* (l. 469): *εἰς δεξιὰν δὲ σὴν ἀλεξητήριον ξύλον καθίει Δαιδάλου, ψευδῇ δόσω* and by a vase-picture in Millin's *Gall. Myth.* XIII. 48. That Hephaestus stithied a sword, *μάχαιρα*, for Peleus is proved by a fragment of Hesiod quoted by the scholiast on this passage and numbered frag. 85 in Götting's edition of Hesiod:

ἦδε δὲ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνετο
βουλὴ
αὐτὸν μὲν σχέσθαι, κρίψαι δ' ἄδόκητα
μάχαιραν
καλὴν, ἣν οἱ ἔτευξε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφι-
γυήεις·

ὥς τὴν μαστεύων οἶος κατὰ Πήλιον αἰπὺ
αἰψ' ὑπὸ Κενταύροισιν ὀρεσκώσοισι δα-
μεῖη.

Moreover Zenobius the paroemiographer states expressly (v. 20) *μέμνηται ταύτης [μαχαίρας] Ἀνακρέων καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν Νεμεονίκαῖς*· *φασὶ δὲ αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου γενομένην δῶρον Πηλεῖ σωφροσύνης ἕνεκα παρὰ θεῶν δοθῆναι*. He is speaking of the proverb *μέγα φρονεῖ μάλλον ἢ Πηλεὺς ἐπὶ τῇ μαχαίρα*.

φύτενέ is equivalent to *prepared, tried to cause*; so in β 165 *τοῖσδεσσι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φυτεῖ πάντεσσιν*. *ἐκ λόχου* means by an ambush of Centaurs, as the passage cited from Hesiod indicates. Pindar was an ardent student of Hesiod (cp. *Nem.* VII. 88) and there is nothing in his words that renders it necessary to suppose that he deviated from the Hesiodic story. Acastus, the son of Pelias, having stolen the weapon of Peleus hid it on Mount Pelion, and suborned the Centaurs to lie in wait for the hero when he was searching for his sword. Chiron protected Peleus from the danger. We need not suppose that Acastus himself took part in the ambushade.

61. **καὶ τὸ μόρσιμον κ.τ.λ.**] *And he (Chiron) was carrying out to its destined end the fate decreed by Zeus*. This is the interpretation of Dissen and most scholars, and, I believe, it is right. Both the view of Mezger that Peleus is the subject of *ἐκφερεν*, and that of Mr Fennell that the verb is intransitive (as in *Soph. O. C.* 1424) and *τὸ μόρσιμον* its subject, seem to render the line almost otiose. There is little point in the statement (in this context) that *Διὸς ἐτελέετο βουλὴ*, and such a remark is not in Pindar's manner; but there is point in saying that Chiron took part in determining Peleus' destinies. Compare *Nem.* III. 56 *νύμφευσσε κ.τ.λ.*

πῦρ δὲ παγκρατὲς θρασυμαχάνων τε λεόντων
 ὄνυχας ὀξυτάτους ἀκμάν
 τε δεινοτάτων σχάσαις ὀδόντων

ἔγαμεν ὑψιθρόνων μίαν Νηρεΐδων,
 εἶδεν δ' εὐκυκλον ἔδραν,
 τὰς οὐρανοῦ βασιλῆες πόντου τ' ἐφεζόμενοι
 δῶρα καὶ κράτος ἐξέφανεαν ἐγγενὲς αὐτῷ.

στρ. θ'. 65

This interpretation is confirmed by the echo of l. 44, see *Introduction*, p. 64.

62. πῦρ δέ κ.τ.λ.] Thetis changed herself into various forms to escape from the embraces of Peleus, but the counsels of Chiron enabled the hero to overcome the fire, the lion, the dragon and other shapes which she assumed.—*θρασυμαχάνων* is Hermann's emendation of *θρασυμαχῶν*. Heracles is called *θρασυμάχανος*, *wily-daring* in *Ol.* vi. 67. In this passage the word felicitously suggests that the lion was a *μαχανά* of the Nereid.

63. ἀκμάν τε κ.τ.λ.] Observe the singular *ἀκμάν*, for which we might have expected *ἀκμάς*, *points*. The teeth are conceived as forming a knife or saw, and *ἀκμάν* is the sharp *edge of the row*. The singular also serves to indicate that Peleus had to do with only one lion. We may render: *Having defeated masterful fire and the claws full sharp of wily-daring lions and a gleaming row of teeth most fell he married one of the high-throned Nereids*. *σχάζω* has two meanings, (1) medical, to open a vein, lance, (2) to drop, let fall. In *Pyth.* x. 69 *κώπαν σχάσον* is *drop the oar, let the oar rest*, as in *Xen. Cyr.* iii. 5 *σχάζειν τὴν οὐράν* is to drop the tail. Cp. Euripides *Phoenissae* 454 *σχάσον δὲ δεινὸν ὄμμα καὶ θυμοῦ πνοάς*, and, in middle, Aristophanes *Clouds* 107 *σχασάμενος τὴν ἰππικὴν*, where it might be rendered in English slang by *cut*. In the present passage the word means to *set at rest* or *foil*; and I have a suspicion that *σχάζω* was a *vox propria* in wrestling for foiling the devices of an

antagonist and causing him to abandon them. The English *defeat*, in its proper sense, seems an adequate rendering.

65. ὑψιθρόνων] A Pindaric compound. *Isth.* v. 16 *ὑψιθρόνον Κλωθώ*.

66. εὐκυκλον ἔδραν] *A circle of fair seats*. Pindar probably conceived the seats as joined together ('una sedes in qua divisi singulis diis loci', Dissen). In *Pyth.* iii. 93 sqq. we read how the gods feasted at the marriages of Peleus and Cadmus, and how those heroes *saw the royal sons of Cronus on golden seats and received wedding gifts καὶ Κρόνου παῖδας βασιλῆας ἰδὼν χρυσέαις ἐν ἔδραις ἔδνα τε δέξαντο*.

67. τὰς—ἐφεζόμενοι] Bergk illustrates the genitive (Homer uses the dative) with *ἐφέξομαι* from Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 1000 *ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν καὶ νηὸς... ἐφεζομένη πάτρην λίπε* and Sophocles *Philoctetes* 1123 *καὶ πον πολίᾳς πόντου θινὸς ἐφήμενος* (where *θινὸς* is generally taken with *πον*).

68. δῶρα καὶ κράτος κ.τ.λ.] *woove*, as *their gifts, a web of sovereignty to devolve upon his race*. The reading of the mss. *ἐξέφανεαν* can be racked into a certain sense, but is by no means satisfactory. It must be explained as a strong zeugma 'set forth their gifts and declared the might that would be upon his race' (or *monstrarunt ei potentiam ad posterum duraturam*). But *ἐκφαίνειν δῶρα* is a doubtful expression, to which I have been unable to find a parallel. I believe that *ἐξέφανεαν* is what Pindar wrote; the gods are represented as weaving out or plan-

Γαδείρων τὸ πρὸς ζόφον οὐ περατόν. ἀπότρεπε
αὐτίς εὐρωπὰν ποτὶ χέρσον ἔντεα ναός·
ἄπορα γὰρ λόγον Αἰακοῦ
παίδων τὸν ἅπαντά μοι διελθεῖν.

70

Θεανδρίδαισι δ' ἀξιγυίων ἀέθλων
κᾶρυξ ἑτοῖμος ἔβαν

στρ. ι'.

Οὐλυμπία τε καὶ Ἴσθμοί Νεμέα τε συνθέμενος,
ἔνθα πείραν ἔχοντες οἴκαδε κλυτοκάρπων

75

ning the gifts which they would shower upon Peleus and his race. It may be pointed out that in Theocritus VII. 8 *ἐφαῖνον* has usurped the place of *ὑφαῖνον* in the MSS. A strong confirmation of *ἐξύφαναν* is the fact that *ἐξύφαινε* occurs in the corresponding line of the sixth strophe. The Theandridae are compared to the Aeacidae, and Timasarchus to Peleus. Even as the gods weave a web of sovereignty as their wedding gift to Peleus, so the lyre is bidden by Pindar to weave a web of song and glory as a gift for Timasarchus, see *Introduction*, p. 64. *δῶρα καὶ κράτος* is virtually a hendiadys. *ὑφαίνω* (like *φυτεύω*) is so constantly used in a figurative sense that it almost ceases to be a figure. In *Pyth.* IV. 141 we have a close parallel to *ἐξυφαίνειν κράτος*:—

ἀλλ' ἐμὲ χρὴ καὶ σέ...ὑφαίνειν λοιπὸν
ὄλβον.

In Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo*, l. 56 we read *θεμέλια Φοῖβος ὑφαίνει*, and Plato even uses the word with *οικοδομήματα* (*Critias*, 116 B).

The MSS. give *ἐς* (or *εἰς*), *γενεὰς* (or *γενεάς*), *αὐτῷ* (or *αὐτῶ*). Boeckh read *ἐς γενεάν οἱ*, Dissen adopted *ἐς γένος αὐτῷ*. The scholiast read *ἐγγενές*, restored by Rittershuis and accepted by Bergk who writes: 'Librorum lectio orta est ex interpretamento *ἐς γενεὰς*, i.e. *posteris Pelci* vel *ἐκ γενεὰς*, i.e. *a principio ei destinatum*'. The word occurs in *Nem.* x. 51.

69. Γαδείρων κ.τ.λ.] *From Gadira to gloomward thou shalt not pass; turn back*

again the gear of the ship to the broad continent. τὰ Γάδεια, *Gades*, Γῆδεια in Herodotus IV. 8. *ζόφος* for *δύσις*, *west*, is Homeric. The poet having touched on the supreme height of Peleus' bliss can go no further; he has reached the Pillars of Heracles.

70. *εὐρωπὰν χέρσον*] *Europe (εὐρώπης=εὐρύς)*. *ἔντεα ναός*, *remos et vela navis*, Dissen; compare *Ol.* VII. 12 *παμφώνοισι τ' ἐν ἔντεσιν αὐλῶν*.

71. *ἄπορα*] *It is impossible, I have no passage*. The plural suggests the abundance of the theme. Cp. *Ol.* I. 52 *ἐμοὶ δ' ἄπορα γαστρίμαργον μακάρων τιν' εἰπεῖν, I have scruples*.

72. *τὸν ἅπαντα*] The full legend of the Aeacidae (viewed as a whole). See above *Nem.* I. 69, and below l. 83.

73. *Θεανδρίδαισι κ.τ.λ.*] *For the Theandridae I came, true to my compact, a ready herald of their lusty contests at Olympia and at the Isthmus and at Nemea, where entering the lists they return not homeward uncrowned with fruitage of glory*. The adjective *ἀεζίγνιος*, *making the limbs wax lusty*, was probably formed by Pindar for this passage.

75. *συνθέμενος*] *Having made a compact; so in Pyth.* XI. 41, he says, addressing the Muse, *εἰ μισθοῦ γε* (or *μισθοῖσα*, MSS. *μισθῷ*) *συνέθεν παρέχειν φωνὰν ὑπάργυρον*.

76. *κλυτοκάρπων*] Another Pindaric adjective: *whose fruit is glory*. For *πείραν ἔχοντες*, *sustaining the trial*, compare above l. 30.

οὐ νέοντ' ἄνευ στεφάνων, πάτραν ἔν' ἀκούομεν,
 Τιμάσαρχε, τεὰν ἐπινικίοισιν ἀοιδαῖς
 πρόπολον ἔμμεναι. εἰ δέ τοι
 μάτρῳ μ' ἔτι Καλλικλεῖ κελεύεις

80

στάλαν θέμεν Παρίου λίθου λευκοτέραν.

στρ. ια'.

ὁ χρυσὸς ἐψόμενος

αὐγὰς ἔδειξεν ἀπάσας, ὕμνος δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν
 ἐργμάτων βασιλεῦσιν ἰσοδαίμονα τεύχει
 φῶτα· κείνος ἀμφ' Ἀχέροντι ναιετάων ἐμὴν
 γλῶσσαν εὐρέτω κελαδῆτιν, Ὀρσοτριάνα

85

77. **πάτραν** κ.τ.λ.] *Where we hear, Timasarchus, that thy clan is a minister unto songs of victory; that is the Theandridae win victories, supply choruses and pay poets for their celebration. For πρόπολος compare Olymṗ. XIII. 54 Ἀργοὶ καὶ προβόλοις, the Argo and her crew. Pindar's motive in using the curious expression has been pointed out in the Introduction p. 65.*

79. **εἰ δέ τοι** κ.τ.λ.] *But if thou biddest me yet set up to thy mother's brother Callicles a slab whiter than Parian stone, know that gold in the hands of the refiner is wont to reveal the full radiance of its beams, and a hymn in praise of brave deeds maketh a man equal to kings in fortune.* For the meaning, and the allusion to the Olympic victory of l. 75, I may refer the reader to the Introduction, p. 66.

μάτρῳ] According to the scholiast, Callicles was the brother of the victor's mother and Euphanes her father. **μάτρως** itself is ambiguous as it may mean either *avus* or *avunculus maternus*. It would seem that the family of Timasarchus' mother as well as that of his father belonged to the Theandrid clan.

81. **στάλαν**] a sepulchral stêlê. For θέμεν compare above l. 9. (The line is imitated by Horace l. 19 *Pario marmore purius*.) By the choice of λευκοτέραν Pindar would compare the glory of Calli-

cles to the bright island, *Leuce*, of Achilles (in v. 49).

82. **ὁ χρυσός**] Gold here is symbolical of 'the golden olive leaves' of Olympic crowns (cp. *Nem.* I. 17). So in *Pyth.* x. 67 it is symbolical of the 'golden laurel'; see above, *Introduction*, p. 66. The refiner is the poet.

83. **ἀπάσας**] Not *all* (πάσας), but *in their perfection*. See above, *Nem.* I. 69.

84. **τεύχει**] corresponding to τεύχει in line 4. The hymn is both a healer and kingmaker. ἐργμάτων recalls ἐργμάτων in l. 6. ἰσοδαίμων means here 'equal in fortune', not 'equal to the daίμονes' (as in Aeschylus, *Persae*, 633).

85. **κείνος** κ.τ.λ.] *Let him (Callicles) dwelling on the shores of Acheron detect my tongue resounding clear where he won the bloom of Corinthian parsley at the contest of the deep-thundering Trident-wielder.* κελαδῆτις is found only here. For βαρύκτυπος as an epithet of Poseidon, see Hesiod, *Theogony*, 818; *Olymṗ.* I. 72 βαρύκτυπον εὐτρίαναν. Ὀρσοτριάνα is a Pindaric name of Poseidon, cf. *Ol.* VIII. 48, *Pyth.* II. 12 ὀρσοτρίαναν θεόν. Pindar promises to celebrate Callicles in an Isthmian Ode, and it is a gratuitous change on the part of Bergk to read ἐνεκ' for ἔν' ἐν.

88. **θάλησε**] The bloom of the Isthmian chaplet was figurative, not literal; the parsley was withered. Cf. schol.

ἔν' ἐν ἀγῶνι βαρυκτύπου
θάλησε Κορινθίους σελίνους·

τὸν Εὐφάνης ἐθέλων γεραιὸς προπάτωρ,

στρ. ιβ'.

τό σὸς αἰέσεται, παῖ.

90

ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλικες ἄλλοι· τὰ δ' αὐτὸς ἄν τις ἰσῆ,

Isth. II. 15 τοῖς οὖν τὰ Ἰσθμια ἀγωνιζο-
μένοις σέλινον ξηρὸν ὁ στέφανος, ὕγρὸν δὲ
τοῖς τὰ Νέμεα.

89. τὸν Εὐφάνης κ.τ.λ.] The corrup-
tion of l. 90, in which the three MSS. on
which we depend for the last 28 verses of
this ode (B, β, D) agree, renders the
meaning of this passage extremely un-
certain. Not one of the emendations
proposed is really satisfactory, as they do
not account for the corruption in our
text. Hermann proposed ὁ σὸς αἰσέν
ποτε, παῖ, but why should αἰσέν ποτε
have ever become αἰέσεται? Boeckh read
similarly σὸς αἰσέν ποτε παῖ, Hartung
αἰσέ σοί ποτε, παῖ, Rauchenstein σὸς
αἰσεν τότε, παῖ, Mommsen αἰέσεται, παῖ,
ὁ σός. Bergk proposed

τῶν Εὐφάνης ἐθέλων γεραιὸς προπάτωρ
ὁ σός γ' ἐπάϊε παῖ

*quas victorias libenter Euphanes anim-
advertit*, which, besides being improbable
from a critical point of view, gives a weak
sense.

It appears to me that the unmetrical
reading in l. 90 must be due to the in-
trusion of a gloss into the text. There
is no reason to question the genuineness
of αἰέσεται, which must have been the
first word of the verse. If the word or
words succeeding αἰέσεται had acciden-
tally fallen out and ὁ σός, παῖ a gloss on
προπάτωρ stood in the margin, the gloss
would have almost certainly crept into
the text. I propose, therefore, to deal
with the line as if we found

αἰέσεται ~~

in the MSS.

Pindar is comparing the Theandridae
to the Aeacid kings. He has indicated
in l. 81 (see note) that Callicles corre-

sponds to Achilles; further in l. 92 (see
note) he uses words which recall Neopto-
lemus. But in the list of the Aeacidæ
Thetis is mentioned between Achilles and
Neoptolemus (l. 50); and we are therefore
led to suppose that Pindar, in speaking
of Euphanes, used words which recalled
Thetis. So little is said of the goddess
(Θέτις δὲ κρατεῖ Φθίῃ) that the problem
is narrowed. I conjecture that Pindar
wrote

αἰέσεται φθιμένοις,

*of whom Euphanes, his old grandfather,
will be full fain to sing to the dead.*
Euphanes represents the Theandrids
among the φθίμενοι, as Thetis the
Aeacids at Phthia.

91. ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλικες ἄλλοι] Men of
each generation have their own comrades.
Perhaps Pindar was thinking of the pro-
verb ἡλιξ ἡλικά τέρπει, but ἄλικες here
has a wider sense than usual and means
not coevals, but contemporaries; e.g.
Euphanes and Callicles.

τὰ δ' αὐτός κ.τ.λ.] *Each man imagines
that the deeds whereof he himself has
knowledge are the loftiest argument for
a tale.* The MSS. have ἄν τις τύχη.
Mingarelli's reading ἄντα is adopted by
Bergk. To this may be objected: (1)
the corruption is not accounted for, (2)
we expect ἄν, (3) ἄντα τυχεῖν requires
the genitive (as in *Nem.* vi. 27). Her-
mann's ἄν τις ἔδη cannot be entertained
as there is no reason why ἔδη should
have been corrupted. My reading ἰσῆ
(subjunctive of ἴσαμι; Pindar uses ἴσαμι,
ἴσμεν and ἴσαντι, pres. part.) accounts
for the corruption. Owing to the simi-
larity of adjacent syllables ΔΝΤΙCΙCΗΙ
became ΔΝΤΙCΗΙ, ἄν τις η, and the un-

ἔλπεται τις ἕκαστος ἐξοχώτατα φάσθαι.
οἶον αἰνέων κε Μελησίαν ἔριδα στρέφοι,
ρήματα πλέκων, ἀπάλαιστος ἐν λόγῳ ἔλκειν,
μαλακὰ μὲν φρονέων ἐσλοῖς,
τραχὺς δὲ παλιγκότοις ἔφεδρος.

95

meaning *η* was changed to *τύχη* to make sense.—**φάσθαι** depends on *ἐξοχώτατα*. It is usually taken with *ἔλπεται* at the expense of the sense. Pindar is paying a graceful compliment to the victor. 'Euphanes thought Callicles preeminent; I consider the deeds of Timasarchus *ἐξοχώτατα*.'

92. **ἐξοχώτατα**] This word responds to *ἔξοχοι* in l. 52. See *Introduction*, p. 65.

92. **οἶον κ.τ.λ.**] 'What an adversary in speech were he who learned a lesson from Melesias! How he would wrestle with sinuous words, and resistless withstand constraint in the trial of story,—a gentle dealer to the noble, but a sovereign wrestler rough to naughty foes!'

For an explanation and defence of this

rendering see *Appendix A*, note 5.

The trainer Melesias is mentioned in *Nem.* vi. 66 and *Olymp.* viii. 54. *στροφή* meant a wrestling-trick, 'twist'; *πάσας στροφὰς στρέφεισθαι*, Plato, *Republic*, 405 C. For *ἔλκειν* compare Hesiod, *Scut. Hen.* 302 *ἐμάχοντο πύξ τε καὶ ἐλκηδόν*.

95. **ἐσλοῖς**] The short quantity of the first syllable of *ἐσλοῖς* in this passage is to be noted; cf. *Pyth.* iii. 66 and *Ol.* ii. 9.

96. **ἔφεδρος**] Properly *lying in wait, posted in reserve*; and then technically of the odd man in wrestling pairs. See below, vi. 63. Cp. Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 866 *τοιάνδε πάλην μόνος ὦν ἔφεδρος δισσοῖς μέλλει θεῖος Ὀρέστης ἄψειν*.

NEMEAN V.

ODE IN HONOUR OF A VICTORY AT NEMEA IN THE BOYS' PANCRATION WON BY PYTHEAS OF AEGINA.

INTRODUCTION.

IN hymns composed for Aeginetan victors one remarks that Pindar generally introduces images and metaphors taken from sailing or swimming, or here and there finds a place for a nautical term, evidently remembering that his ode will be sung in the city of a seafaring people and wishing to give it a certain savour of the sea. Now the Fifth Nemean Ode¹ is more thoroughly 'sea-saturate,' has more of the marine taste, than any other of the series of Aeginetan hymns,—sounding almost as if it had been actually composed on the beach of Aegina, in view of her harbour and ships,—a true song of the sea. And it is certainly possible that Pindar, enjoying the hospitality of Lampon, a citizen who was noted for his kindness to strangers and father of the strong boy whose victory in the pancration was the occasion of the ode, may have written it, or at least been inspired, there. It is built upon the legend of the temptation of Peleus by the comely and delicate Hippolyta and his subsequent marriage with Thetis. For Pindar this marriage, more than a mere marriage, meant the type of highest happiness (*ὄλβος*), in whatever that happiness may consist; Thetis is a true 'wish-

¹ Of the three odes (*Nemean* v., *Isthmian* iv., *Isthmian* v.) in honour of the sons of Lampon, *Isthmian* iv. was written latest, and a passage in it shews that it was composed not long after the battle of Salamis. *Nemean* v. is the earliest of the three.

As to the interpretation of the ode, Dissen thinks the murder of Phocus is mentioned in v. 10 to warn the son of Lampon against quarrelling, and that the myth of Peleus is told as an edifying example of chastity. Mommsen, as usual, seeks political motives and loses himself in conjectures. L. Schmidt assumes that Euthymenes was defeated

at the Isthmus and specially desired that his defeat should be referred to—a view worth mentioning as a curiosity. Mezger finds the leading idea in l. 40

πότμος δὲ κρίνει συγγενῆς ἔργων περὶ
πάντων

—the value of noble descent. He divides the hymn thus: ἀρχά 1—6; κατατροπά 7, 8; ὀμφαλός 9—37; μετακατατροπά 38—40; σφραγὶς 41—54.

This arrangement spoils the symmetry of the ode, by forcing the mythical prayer of the Aeacids into the same division as the myth of Peleus.

For the family of Lampon see *Appendix A*, note 6.

maiden,' *wunschmädchen*, as her name is actually said to mean, and the wooing and winning of her by Peleus is an image of any high, *divine* success attained by effort.

The ode falls naturally into three divisions corresponding to its three metrical systems. And each part offers us duly one moment of the thought which is worked out. (1) In the first system we have the prayer of the Aeacids for the people of Aegina. (3) In the third system the victories of Aeginetans indicate that the wish had been answered. (2) In the second system, it is shewn, by the allegorical myth of Peleus, why Aegina has been thus signalised by divine favour. That such is the framework of the ode may easily be proved.

The glory reflected by Aeginetan victories in the public games on Aegina herself is strongly emphasised in the third system. Euthymenes' successes are 'for Aegina' (*Αἰγίνα* l. 41) and 'glorify' the Aeacids (l. 42); and the poet rejoices

ὅτι

ἐσλοῖσι μάρνεται πέρι πᾶσα πόλις.

And that this is to be regarded as a fulfilment of the prayer of the Aeacids, is significantly conveyed by the use of a striking expression in the third system which echoes an equally striking expression in the first system. Of Peleus, Telamon and Phocus praying at the altar of Zeus, it is said, l. 11,

πίτναν τ' εἰς αἰθέρα χεῖρας ἄμᾱ.

Euthymenes in l. 42 is described as

Νίκας ἐν ἀγκώνεσσι πίτνων¹.

The two verbs (*πίτνημι* and *πίτνω*) are in sense distinct, but Pindar clearly connected them, and there is a certain kinship in their meanings.

It is next to be shewn that the story of Peleus symbolizes, in brief, and explains, the history of Aegina. Peleus won Thetis because he respected Zeus Xenios; this is the essence of the tale. And so, it is to be inferred, Aegina won the accomplishment of her wishes by her unremitting exercise of hospitality.

Several hints leave us in no doubt that this is the argument.

(1) Immediately before the tale of the prayer Aegina is called

φίλαν ξένων ἄρουραν.

(2) *πατέρος* 'Ελλαίου (to whom the Aeacids pray) l. 10 is echoed in *πατρός* ξεινίου (l. 33) whom Peleus respected.

(3) 'They prayed' is expressed by the unusual, archaic word

θέσαντο (l. 10)

which is rendered very prominent by its metrical position; for not only is its first syllable a *tetrasemos* (measuring four times) but it is preceded by a pause equivalent to a *tetrasemos*: thus

$\frac{\text{τ}}{\wedge} \overline{\wedge} \theta\epsilon\sigma\sigma- \overline{\wedge} \alpha\nu\tau\acute{o}.$

¹ The emphasis of *πίτνων* is increased See below, p. 94.
by its allusive associations with *πότμος*.

(See Metrical Analysis p. 88.) Pindar has adopted this means to express that as the 'wish-maid' *Θέτις* was won by Peleus, so the *wishes* of the Aeacids for Aegina were fulfilled.

But the allegory of Peleus, if it applies generally to Aegina, may be on this occasion taken to themselves especially by the kindred of Lampon, a man noted for his hospitality¹, and whose name (in l. 4) receives a metrical emphasis similar to that of *θέσαντο*. And thus Euthymenes, uncle of the young victor Pytheas and himself an unusually distinguished champion, is said to have been made happy by the embraces of the goddess Victory and caressed by hymns of praise, even as Peleus was blessed by the guerdon of the sea-goddess and glorified by Apollo and the Muses. And the fact that one of Euthymenes' successes was achieved on the Isthmus yields a welcome opportunity to accentuate the sea-motive by introducing the king of the ocean himself, and also enables the poet to manage a natural but skilful transition from myth to 'modern' history.

But why, one asks, is Euthymenes the prominent figure? why does the myth bear on him, when the ode is expressly written for Pytheas his nephew? It is an instance of the dexterity of Pindar's art. Pytheas is only a boy, not yet of nubile age, and the infelicity of comparing his victory to a sexual union is avoided by making Euthymenes a sort of intermediate reflector. The artist indicates in his own way that Pytheas will be even as Euthymenes; and therefore he may expect in future years, like Euthymenes, to win his 'sea-bride,' *ποντίαν ἄκουτιν*, too, perhaps even in the shape of a victory gained also at the Isthmus.

This is the central thought. Both Pytheas and Euthymenes, his mother's brother, have shed glory on Aegina and the Aeacid name. The elder champion may be said to have attained to the prize and pride of life, figured in the wooing of the great Aeacid Peleus; and the younger, a pancratiast like his uncle, may hope to achieve the same ideal. Let us now see how this thought is worked out in detail.

The stately odes which Pindar is fond of likening to the works of architects or of sculptors have one advantage certainly over statues, in the mere fact that they can travel easily by land and sea. They are *ἀγάλματα*—a word which, meaning any gracious things that shed glory or yield delight by their beauty, came to have the special sense of carven images, the ornaments of a temple or agora; but they are not limited to motionless existence on a base, like that statue for example of Themistius the victor's grandfather, which Pindar may have himself seen in the portal of the temple of Aeacus, crowned with a garland of grass and flowers, as he describes it in the closing verses. With this comparison and distinction of the two arts the prelude opens, naturally leading up to the transmission of the present song, proud of its power of motion, to distant lands, that the victor's fame may be diffused throughout the whole Greek world. And with his peculiar skill in causing vivid pictures to rise up out of a word or two, Pindar makes us fancy

¹ See *Isth.* v. 70.

that he has literally issued from the workshop of some sculptor in Aegina—we think of the famous Onatas who perhaps actually wrought a statue for this same son of Lampon—and is going down to the wharf to embark his song in ships, large argosies and smaller craft about to hoist their sails, bound for distant cities.

I dwell on this proem because it determines what may be called the imaginary background of the ode. The ‘sweet song’ is shipped for foreign parts; the sea spreads out before us; and we are learning what the message is, the literal *burden* or freight.

The sea spreads out before us from the beginning to the end of the piece, and the circumstance that this background is implied, not expressed, illustrates a notable difference between ancient and modern art. The ancient poets, presupposing in their hearers and readers a swifter and more active imagination, did less to assist it; they were more reserved; and this artistic *ironia* is especially characteristic of Pindar. A modern poet, were he writing anything similar, would probably describe the sea in express words and pause in his progress to make his reader hear the wreathèd horn of Triton or see Proteus rising from the wave. But Pindar does not think it necessary to do that. Those who have really eyes and ears for his words will hear and see the Greek ocean rolling and sounding before them; and it will soon become transfigured, not through any extraneous description, but in the natural progress of the work, by the presence of mermaidens and ocean-kings.

The message of the ‘sweet song’ is that Lampon’s son Pytheas has been proclaimed victor at Nemea in the pancration contest which required superiority in both boxing and wrestling. Pytheas is a strong-bodied boy not yet adolescent, and there is an allusion to the joy which his mother will soon have in her son’s puberty, when his cheeks display, like a physical sign of summer heat, soft down compared to the plumage of a grape, and suggesting even some Dionysiac association of the voluptuousness of nature. The pride of parents in their offspring’s puberty is a pagan feature, which had not disappeared in the days of St Augustine.

Pytheas’ victory is one more distinction for Aegina, the city so good to strangers—‘foreign faces’ in her streets and harbour may have been sometimes noticeable—, and to the Aeacidæ, whose descent is from Cronos and Zeus and the golden daughters of Nereus. Thus, at the beginning of the hymn, the usual formality of making mention of Zeus is informally complied with, and at the same time the waters begin to change under the golden wand into a mythical sea where wonders may occur.

Peleus and Telamon and Phocus were the original Aeacids. The mother of Peleus and Telamon was Endais the daughter of Chiron, the centaur; Phocus was born of the nymph Psamathea, ‘the sand-maiden,’ on the sea-beach, ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι πόντου. These three sons of Aeacus stood by the altar of Zeus Hellanios in Aegina, and raising their hands to the firmament prayed for the glory of their island and her wealth in men and ships. They prayed together; but a misfortune led to the banishment of Peleus and Telamon

from their home. This event, of which Pindar speaks with dark shy reticence, was the death of Phocus, whom, in a fit of jealousy because he was their father's favourite, his half-brothers slew. Can we profitably or fitly apply the moral standards of ordinary men to the deeds of half-divine heroes? Pindar perhaps asked himself, and in the full spirit of 'hero-worship' he prefers silence, suspension of judgment (as if the question were a supernatural mystery), leaning rather to interpretation in favour of the heroes.

At this delicate question the poet, with conscious abruptness, pulls himself up, remarking on the advantages of silence which is often the fairest speech, true *εὐφημία*. And having checked himself as at some impassable obstacle he prepares for a new start, likening himself to a leaper who has nimble knees and can leap far, if his theme be happiness (*ἄλβος*), or prowess in games or war,—and then, recalling his imagination as it were from an excursion into the gymnasium back to the scene really before him, likens himself to an eagle which can shoot across the ocean, *πέραν πόντου*. The eagle had a peculiar fascination for Pindar, so that references to it are quite a note of his poetry, the most striking passage being that in which the bird of Zeus is described as sitting on the God's sceptre, lulled to sleep by the charm of golden Phorminx, his supple, almost fluid (*ὑγρόν*), back trembling a little and somewhat voluptuously, to the influences which agitate the air.

The idea that the eagle is sensible to the concord of pleasant sounds was in Pindar's mind here too, for having compared his own spirit of song to the power of the bird to fly over seas, he goes on to describe the quire of the muses singing on Mount Pelion at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and Apollo himself, as Musagetes or Muse-leader, sweeping the seven strings of the lyre with his golden plectrum. And thus the connexion of thought is really close between lines 21 and 22; there is not, as at first might appear, a break and then a fresh start. *Phorminx* has an attraction for the eagle, which therefore shoots forth to Mount Pelion to hear her—for the instrument is half personified—answering to Apollo's touch: this is the graceful figure. The treatment of the lyre (whose seven strings are called seven tongues) as though she were alive, and her vibration the actual pulse of an organism, may be compared to the personification of the violin by modern writers¹.

But there is more than this behind; the eagle flying to Pelion has other feathers for the poet's shafts. As we shall see in the Sixth Nemean Ode, Pindar regarded the eagle as a special omen of the house of the Aeacidae, partly on account of the connexion of both with Zeus, partly for the sake of the resemblance of *αἰερός* and *Αἶακος*. So here too the eagles, to which Pindar compares himself, are the Aeacidae; just as his metaphor of the leaper has reference to a leap of Euthymenes, as we shall see hereafter. Odes are sung on Mount Pelion for the eagles², that is for the Aeacidae,

¹ For example in Mr Eric Mackay's
Letters of a Violinist.

² See note, l. 22

πρόφρων δὲ κείνοις.

According to Schmidt's analysis of the metre, *πρόφρων* is rendered very promi-

chiefly for Peleus ;—and this thought is important for the understanding of the application of the myth.

The nome sung by the Muses began, according to the rules of such compositions, with the praise of Zeus, then told the story of Peleus and Thetis, and how Peleus was tempted by Hippolyta to dishonour the bed of his host Acastus¹. Hippolyta is described by a word which the Greeks often used of oriental luxuriousness or soft-living, *ἀβρά*, which here almost means 'sensual'; she was like one of those 'comely and delicate women' spoken of in oriental scriptures. Peleus rejected her bold straight words, so direct that they were really abashing, not from any idea of abstract right and wrong, but because Acastus was his host, and he 'feared the wrath of father Zeus who protecteth the host and guest.' Then Zeus, in recognition of his piety, promised him that he should wed one of the princesses of the sea.

This episode of Peleus' temptation is introduced, like every episode in Pindar, with a purpose. It is a typical instance, not of chastity—far from it—, but of reverence for Zeus Xenios, for the rights and duties of guest and host; and this reverence receives a conspicuous reward. Even so Aegina herself, as Pindar never wearies of telling, was a faithful votary of Zeus Xenios, *φίλα ξένων ἄρουρα* (l. 8); her children, and among the rest conspicuously Lampon, the victor's father, were kind to strangers. And Pindar implies that the great successes gained by Aeginetans—in this instance by Lampon's kindred,—at the Hellenic festivals are a divine reward for their hospitable manners.

Zeus plans that Peleus shall wed a sea-maiden (*ποντίαν*), one of Nereus' daughters, called *golden* before and now described as spinning *with golden distaffs*; and he secures the consent of Poseidon. With these words we become conscious of the sea again; we prepare to leave Mount Pelion; we see Poseidon driving from Aegae to Corinth; and the peals of Apollo's lyre pass suddenly into the sounds of the flutes which greet the coming of the sea-king to his Isthmian games.

And now comes the application of the myth :—the kindred of Lampon may be compared to that greater Aeginetan family, the Aeacids, the eagles, who fly beyond the sea. As Peleus won the *goddess* Thetis, so Euthymenes enjoyed the embraces of the *goddess* Victory; and this exploit resembled its model also in having taken place beyond the sea and under the auspices of Poseidon. And moreover, in celebration of his victory, Euthymenes was caressed by hymns as by something tangible (*ἔψαυσας*), even as the eagle Peleus heard the nomes of Apollo and the Muses on Pelion. Euthymenes was a pancratiast, like Pytheas, but it seems highly probable that he won an Isthmian victory in jumping, as Pindar would hardly have chosen the

nent in recital. So in l. 46, *Νίσου τ'*, referring to the Pythian games at Megara, has a like prominence. The implication seems to be that as Apollo shewed himself favourable to the Aeacids, so he was kind to Euthymenes.

¹ Hippolyta *persuaded* her husband; *πείσαισ' ἀκούσαν*. This is afterwards echoed, for the sake of pointing a contrast, in ll. 36, 37 *πράξιν ἀκούειν—Ἰοσειδάωνα πείσαις*.

metaphor of the leaper and used technical terms (see above), if it had not borne specially on the matter in hand. An unfortunate corruption in the manuscripts renders the exact expression uncertain, but it seems likely¹ that Euthymenes was represented 'darting' or 'leaping' to meet Victory.

Successes at Nemea, at Aegina and at Megara had also fallen to the lot of Euthymenes, and Pindar indicates them as if they were successes in love. Nemea, the nymph, was true to him (*ἄραρε*, 'clave to him'); and the month Delphinios, in which the Aeginetan and Megaric victories were gained, is spoken of as a comely youth whom Apollo once loved and who now bestowed his favours upon the champion of Aegina. Moreover Megara is called 'the hill of Nisus with fair arms or hollows,' *εὐαγκής*, a coinage of Pindar, suggesting the hollow of the arm and recalling the phrase of a few lines before, *Νίκας ἐν ἀγκώνεσσιν*.

By these victories Euthymenes has shed glory on his race, which, as Aeginetan, is closely connected with the race of Peleus (l. 43). Even so Pytheas by his recent victory was said, at the beginning of the hymn, to have done honour to the Aeacids. And thus Pytheas is compared to Euthymenes who was compared to Peleus².

And in this 43rd line we are brought back for a moment, as by a sudden flash of association, but with design on the part of the poet, to the sculptor's workshop from which he issued at the beginning of the poem. The word *ἀγάλλει*, 'brightens with glory,' recalls the *ἀγάλματα*, 'bright or glorious things,' which the sculptor makes and the poet makes too; and the words occur in almost the same parts of metrically corresponding verses. Pindar has wrought an *ἄγαλμα* for Euthymenes no less than for Pytheas.

The naming of Apollo here, in connexion with Euthymenes' victories at Aegina and Megara, is also notable, and the idea seems to be that, as Apollo patronised Peleus, so he is favouring Euthymenes.

A reference to the Athenian Menander, who trained Pytheas for the contest in which he won 'a sweet meed for his toils,' leads up to a sort of *exordium* in praise of Themistius, the father of Euthymenes and Pytheas' mother. The poet reminds us of the background—the sea and the ships; he bids the Muse hoist the sails to the sailyard, using a technical phrase of navigation. Themistius in his day had won two prizes, for boxing and in the pancration, at Epidaurus, and his statue stood in the portal of the temple of Aeacus, crowned with chaplets of flowers and grass, under the auspices of the fair-haired Charites. Without some mention of (or, at least, allusion to) the Charites or beings of kindred nature an ode of victory would perhaps have seemed ungraceful.

This hymn, of whose thought I have sketched the framework and tried to suggest the spirit, is full of pictures and expressions, which lay hold of the imagination and dwell in the memory, although they are marked by

¹ See note l. 43.

² This comparison is further indicated by *σθένει γυίων θρασεῖ* l. 39 compared with *εὐρυσθενής* l. 4; by *μάτρως* l. 43

and *ματρόπολιν* l. 8; and also by the circumstance that l. 43 is addressed to Pytheas.

NEMEONIKAI E'.

ΠΥΘΕΑΙ ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΗΙ

ΠΑΙΔΙ ΠΑΓΚΡΑΤΙΑΣΤΗΙ.

Οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ', ὥστ' ἐλινύσονται Φεργάζεσθαι ἀγάλματ'
 ἐπ' αὐτὰς βαθμίδος στρ. α'.
 ἐσταότ'· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσας ὀλκάδος ἔν τ' ἀκάτῳ, γλυκεῖ' αἰοιδά,
 στεῖχ' ἀπ' Αἰγίνας, διαγγέλλοισ', ὅτι
 Λάμπωνος υἱὸς Πυθέας εὐρυσθενὴς
 νικῇ Νεμείοις παγκρατίου στέφανον, 5
 οὐπω γέννυσι φαίνων τέρειναν ματέρ' οἰνάνθας ὁπώραν,

1. οὐκ ἀνδριαντοποιός εἰμ' κ.τ.λ.] *I am not a maker of statues that I should frame images to stand in repose on the self-base.* In *Isthm.* II. 45 he uses the same expression of his hymns, ἐπεὶ τοι οὐκ ἐλινύσοντας αὐτοὺς εἰργασάμαν. ἐλινύω is used of rest on a holiday.

ἐπ' αὐτὰς] More usually ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς. But *self* and *the same* (*der selbe*) are one notion; self-same is merely a superlative of same. There are some examples of this use in Homer, see M 225, Ψ 480, θ 107, κ 263, π 138. We may reproduce the unusual omission of the article by imitating Shakspeare's 'self-metal' &c. βαθμὶς occurs in *Pyth.* v. 9 ἀκρᾶν ἀπὸ βαθμίδων (*steps*).

2. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσας κ.τ.λ.] *But, O sweet song, lie thee from Aegina on every argosy and in every skiff, spreading the tidings that Lampon's son, Pytheas of massive strength, is winner at the Nemean games of the crown in the pancration, though his mother seeth not yet upon his cheeks the tender summer-ripeness of the grape-down.*

For εὐρυσθενὴς compare above III. 36. I have retained νικῇ, the reading of the MSS., which editors generally alter to νίκη (impft. from νίκημι) after Heyne. But, as Bergk remarks, the poet quotes the herald,—*repetit poeta praeconis vocem.* For νικᾶν 'to win' with accusative compare *Nem.* x. 48 χαλκὸν...ὄντε... ἐνίκασαν.

6. γέννυσι] So the MSS.; Hermann unnecessarily γέννυι. The word includes the chin as well as the cheeks. Bergk is right in taking ματέρ' as the dative case. It is possible that Pindar might have said 'the summer-season, tender mother of the grape-down', but he would have hardly made it the object of φαίνων γέννυσι. A youth displays the grape-down of puberty, not the mother of the grape-down, on his cheeks. The mother's interest in the adolescence of her child is a graceful touch. Bergk compares *Pyth.* VIII. 85 οὐδὲ μολόντων παρ ματέρ' ἀμφὶ γέλως γλυκὺς ὤρσεν χάριν. For οἰνάνθας ὁπώρα compare Euripides, *Phoc-nissae*, 1160 ἄρτι οἰνώπων γέννυ.

ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ζηνὸς ἥρωας αἰχματὰς φυτευθέντας καὶ ἀπὸ
 χρυσεῶν Νηρηίδων ἀντ. α'.

Λιακίδας ἐγέραρεν ματρόπολιν τε, φίλαν ξένων ἄρουραν·
 τάν ποτ' εὐανδρόν τε καὶ ναυσικλυτάν

θέσσαντο παρ βωμόν πατέρος Ἑλλανίου 10

στάντες, πίτναν τ' εἰς αἰθέρα χεῖρας ἁμᾶ

Ἐνδαΐδος ἀρίγνωτες υἱοὶ καὶ βία Φώκου κρέοντος,

ὁ τᾶς θεοῦ, ὃν Ψαμάθεια τίκτ' ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι πόντου. ἐπ. α'.
 αἰδέομαι μέγα Φειπεῖν ἐν δίκᾳ τε μὴ κεκινδυνευμένον,

7. ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου κ.τ.λ.] *And that (ὅτι) he glorified the warrior heroes sprung from Zeus and Cronos and from Nereus' golden daughters, even the Aea-cidae, and the mother city, land that loveth strangers.*

Aeacus, the son of Zeus and Aegina, married (1) Endais, daughter of Chiron, and begat by her Telamon and Peleus, (2) Psamathea, the Nereid, whose son was Phocus. Telamon and Peleus were connected with Cronos both on the mother's and on the father's side as Chiron was Cronos' son.

8. φίλαν ξένων κ.τ.λ.] For this praise (which here has a special bearing on the thought of the hymn, see *Introd.* p. 82, 86) compare above IV. 12. For φίλος with genitive compare *Pyth.* III. 5 νόον ἀνδρῶν φίλον. ματρόπολιν means, I think, more than πατρίδα, *home*, and refers to the fact that Aegina's descendants, the Aea-cids, ruled in other lands (Telamon and Ajax in Salamis etc.), which might therefore be regarded as in a certain sense affiliated to the island.

9. τάν ποτ' κ.τ.λ.] *For whose excel-lence in men and fame in ships they once on a time offered votus, standing at the altar of father Hellanius, and together spread their hands to heaven, even the notable sons of Endais, and the mighty lord Phocus.* For this construction of θέσσαντο Dissen compares *Pyth.* VIII. 72 θεῶν ὅπιν ἄφθιτον ἀπῆλω, *for the undying*

care of the gods I pray. The present of ἔθυσσάμην has not survived; the participle θεοσάμενος is found in Hesiod and Archi-lochus, and the adjective ἀπόθεστος in p 296. Fick has conjectured that Θέτις, *Wunschnüßchen* (as well as ποθέω) is akin, and I have pointed out in the *Introduction* that Pindar connected them. Observe that ναυσικλυτάν is treated as two separate words and takes a feminine termination. In the MSS. it is written ναυσί κλυτάν.

10. Ἑλλανίου] *Myrmidones quum in Aeginam venissent condiderunt ibi Jovis Hellenii fanum, patrii sibi numinis, cuius religiones secum adduxerant'.* Dissen.

12. ἀρίγνῶτες] An equivalent of the Homeric ἀρίγνωτος, only found here. For Endais and Phocus, see above, note on line 7. Endais was also called Μενε-δῆς, schol. II. Φ 185 (Bergk).

13. ὁ τᾶς θεοῦ] *the son of the goddess, he whom Psamathea (sand-maiden) bore on the beach of the sea.* ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι (θαλάσσης) is Homeric.

14. αἰδέομαι κ.τ.λ.] *I shrink from telling of a great venture, perchance un-rightly made, in what wise they left the glorious island and what fortune drave them from Oenone.* The inauspicious event alluded to is the death of Phocus, the favourite son of Aeacus. His brothers Peleus and Telamon slew him through jealousy, and were in consequence obliged

πῶς δὴ λίπον εὐκλέα νᾶσον, καὶ τίς ἄνδρας ἀλκίμους 15
 δαίμων ἀπ' Οἰνῶνας ἔλασεν. στάσομαι. οὐ τοι ἅπασα κερδίῳ
 φαίνοισα πρόσωπον ἀλάθει' ἀτρεκῆς·
 καὶ τὸ σιγᾶν πολλάκις ἐστὶ σοφώτατον ἀνθρώπῳ νοῆσαι.

εἰ δ' ὄλβον ἢ χειρῶν βίαν ἢ σιδαρίταν ἐπαινήσαι πόλεμον
 δεδόκηται, μακρά μοι στρ. β'.
 αὐτόθεν ἄλμαθ' ὑποσκάπτοι τις· ἔχω γονάτων ἐλαφρόν ὄρμάν. 20

to leave Aegina. See Pausanias, II. 29, 7. The reserved language of Pindar concerning the deeds of heroes is characteristic. When Dissen interprets μέγα as *facinus malum et audax*, he misses the point. The poet calls the act great; he does not qualify it as bad. *κεκινδυνεμένον* suggests the hazard of the deed, not its moral quality, and the sole ethical criticism, *μὴ ἐν δίκᾳ*, is ventured upon in the most mild and tentative form—'peradventure, not justly',—for this is the force of *μή*.

16. **στάσομαι.** κ.τ.λ.] *I will halt. Soothly, it is better that unbending truth should not shew her visage in all its fulness (ἅπασα), and to hold his peace is oftentimes man's wisest way.*

Similarly in *Olymp.* I. 52 Pindar breaks off when he touches on a legend that shews the gods in a doubtful light: ἀφίσταμαι· ἀκέρδεια λέλοχεν θαμινὰ κακαγόρος, *I stand apart; loss ever and anon hath overtaken evil speakers.* οὐ κερδίῳ means *is not so good as silence*; compare *Ol.* IX. 103 ἄνεν δὲ θεοῦ σεσιγαμένον οὐ σκαιότερον χρήμ' ἔκαστον. We might have expected οὐ κερδαλέον; but the comparative is used because speech is compared with silence. This usage forms a sort of intermediate link between the ordinary use of the comparative and such forms as *δεξιτερός, θηλύτερος.*

18. **νοῆσαι]** *for a man to consider*; = σοφώτατον νόημα.

19. **χειρῶν βίαν]** Eminently a quality of pancratiasts. *σιδαρίταν πόλεμον, mailed*

war (distinguished from the war of games).

20. **ἄλμαθ' ὑποσκάπτοι τις]** Pindar compares himself to a leaper who can leap far, if his theme be bright fortune or mighty exploits in the arena or on the battlefield. He wishes therefore that a long strip of ground should be prepared for his leap, his starting-point or *βατήρ* being the death of Phocus (*αὐτόθεν*): *fodite magnam saliendo arenam* (Dissen). The ground dug for the long jump was called τὰ ἐσκαμμένα, and ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσκαμμένα *πηδᾶν* became a proverb. The distances of individual leaps were marked by small trenches called βόθροι or σκάμματα. ἄλματα μακρά, *a place for long leaps*, is an expression like αἱ ὄρνιθες, *bird-market*, οἱ πεσσοί, *the place for playing πεσσοί*. In early Greek the compound ὑποσκάπτω occurs only here, and commentators have not explained the force of the preposition. The ground dug up might be regarded in relation to the leaper when actually in the act of leaping; or ὑπο- might be on the analogy of ὑποτύπτω; but it seems to me that Pindar, though comparing himself to a leaper, is already, in anticipation, conceiving himself as an eagle aloft, and that ὑποσκάπτοι 'dig beneath me' is due to this anticipation—a suggestion, in fact, of the second metaphor.

ἔχω γονάτων ἐλαφρόν ὄρμάν] *I have the power of light springing in my knees*; ὄρμη means power of motion. Note the masculine termination of ἐλαφρόν.

καὶ πέραν πόντοιο πάλλοντ' αἰετοί.
 πρόφρων δὲ καὶ κείνοις αἰεὶδ' ἐν Παλίῳ
 Μοισᾶν ὁ κάλλιστος χορός, ἐν δὲ μέσαις
 φόρμιγγ' Ἀπόλλων ἐπτάγλωσσον χρυσέῳ πλῆκτρῳ διώκων

ἀγείτο παντοίων νόμων. αἱ δὲ πρώτιστον μὲν ὕμνησαν Διὸς
 ἀρχόμεναι σεμνὰν Θέτιν ἀντ. β'. 25
 Ἥλέα θ', ὥς τέ νιν ἰβρὰ Κρηθεῖς Ἴππολύτα δόλῳ πεδάσαι
 ἤθελε ξυνᾶνα Μαγνήτων σκοπὸν
 πείσαισ' ἀκοίταν ποικίλοις βουλευμασιν,
 ψεύσταν δὲ ποιητὸν συνέπαξε λόγον,

21. καὶ πέραν κ.τ.λ.] *Eagles poise their flight even beyond the ocean.* πάλλονται smooths the transition from the leaper to the eagle, as it might apply to either.

22. πρόφρων δέ κ.τ.λ.] *But for them too on Pelion the quire most fair of the Muses graciously sang, and in their midst Apollo, sweeping the seven-tongued Lyre with his golden quill, led the chant of divers strains.*

The imperfect tenses αἰεῖ and ἀγείτο present the picture of Apollo Musagetes and his quire.—*κείνοις*, strictly referring to αἰετοί's, shows that the Aeacids (l. 8) are symbolized; see *Introduction*, p. 85.—It seems probable that both here and in *Nem.* I. 33 πρόφρων was intended to convey the idea of *foreknowledge*, as well as that of *goodwill*. Such a suggestion was peculiarly appropriate in the case of Apollo. [I observe that Mr Verrall notes a similar intention in *προφρόνως*, *Agam.* 183.]

24. διώκων] Apollo with his plectron chases and agitates Phorminx, as the wind chases and speeds a ship. Seven-tongued Phorminx is almost personified. νόμων means νόμων καθαροδικῶν, *nomes*.

25. Διὸς ἀρχόμεναι] See note on I. 8; also II. 3.

26. ὥς τέ νιν κ.τ.λ.] *And how delicate Hippolyta, Cretheus' daughter, was fain to bind him by guile, having won to her plan the chief of the Magnetes, her husband,*

by artful counsels. πείσαισα ξυνᾶνα is equivalent to πείσασα ὥστε κοινωνὸν εἶναι, *having persuaded to be her partner in the plot* (so also Mr Fennell). ξυνάν (ξυνάων): ξυνός; compare νεάν: νέος, μεγιστάν: μέγιστος. Bergk, taking ξυνᾶνα to mean *husband*, alters ἀκοίταν in the next line to Ἀκάστον, in order to avoid the redundancy; but the mere fact that Ἀκάστου occurs in l. 30 is decisive against his reading. It is characteristic of Pindar not to repeat proper names, unless they be very important, and even then seldom.

Κρηθεῖς] Hippolyta (also called Hippodamia) was daughter of Cretheus, sister of Pelias and Aeson (Jason's father). Many cities of the Magnetes were subject to Acastus, lord of Iolcus.

29. συνέπαξε] *She framed* (like a joiner). The variant in D συνέπλεξε, read by Triclinius, seems due to a misunderstanding of the text. *συνεπηγνῆναι* is a most appropriate word. ποιητός, *invented, manufactured, not genuine*. It is interesting to observe the force of ψεύσταν, for which another poet might have written ψευδῇ. ψεύσταν (*lying, not false*) invests the λόγος with a certain independence, gives it a material existence apart from the speaker, as if it were a material frame existing independently of its artificer. The λόγος, when constructed, lies on its own account.

ὥς ἄρα νυμφείας ἐπεῖρα κεῖνος ἐν λέκτροις Ἀκάστου 30

εὐνᾶς· τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἔσκεν· πολλὰ γάρ νιν παντὶ θυμῷ ἐπ. β'.
 παρφαμένα λιτάνευεν. τοῦ δὲ ὄργαν κνίζον αἰπεινοὶ λόγοι·
 εὐθύς δ' ἀπανάνατο νύμφαν, ξεινίου πατρὸς χόλον
 δείσαις· ὁ δ' ἐφράσθη κατένευσέν τέ Φοι ὀρσινεφῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ
 Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς, ὥστ' ἐν τάχει 35
 ποντίαν χρυσαλακάτων τινὰ Νηρείδων πράξειν ἄκοιτιν,

γαμβρόν Ποσειδάωνα πείσαις, ὅς Αἰγᾶθεν ποτὶ κλειτὰν θαμὰ
 νίσσεται Ἴσθμὸν Δωρίαν· στρ. γ'.

30. ἄρα] ἄρα (ἄρα) has its frequent force of introducing an untrue allegation: *saying forsooth that he attempted to lie with Acastus' bride, and board his bed.* νυμφείας suggests the youth of Hippolyta.

31. τὸ δ' ἐναντίον κ.τ.λ.] *The fact was far other; for she besought him much and often with all her soul, beguiling him. But his mood was stung by her sheer words, and forthright he repelled the bride, fearing the wrath of the Father who protects hosts and guests.* ἐναντίον, he did not tempt her, but she tempted him. λιτάνευεν, the imperfect of repeated attempts.

32. τοῦ δὲ ὄργαν κ.τ.λ.] The reading of the MSS. involves the assumption of *φοργάν*, which is supported to some extent by the adjective *ἀόργητος*. As this assumption is possible I have not ventured to depart from the codices. None of the proposed readings is probable; Boeckh τοῦ μὲν, Rauchenstein τοῦ δ' ἄρ', Bergk τοῦ δ' ὑπ' (Pindar elsewhere uses *ὑποκνίζω* of love's sting), M. Schmidt τοῦ δὲ κόρζαν (Aeolic for *καρδίαν*).—ἐκνίζον might be rendered *nettled*.

αἰπεινοί] *sheer* (as it were with no slope to soften the approach), *unreserved*. The word suggests that the proposal of Hippolyta was made with a shameless directness. Compare αἰπὸς ὄλεθρος

Tennyson speaks of 'the downward slope of death', αἰπὸς ὄλεθρος is death without the downward slope.

33. ξεινίου πατρός] Ζεὺς ξένιος. Respect for this god is characteristic of an Aeginetan hero; cf. l. 8.

34. ὁ δ' ἐφράσθη κ.τ.λ.] *But Zeus, king of immortals, the cloud-awakener, considered it and vouchsafed unto him from heaven in token that he would speedily compass for him, to be his bride, a scmaid, one of Nereus' daughters with the golden distaffs, and persuade thereto Poseidon their sister's spouse, who often proceedeth from Aegae to the famous Dorian Isthmus.*

ὀρσινεφής (= νεφεληγερέτα) does not occur elsewhere. ὥστε is regular after verbs of promising.

36. ποντίαν] So MSS. Heyne's ποντιᾶν is adopted by most editors, as it seems to me unnecessarily. In the case of two nouns and two adjectives Pindar is usually even-handed. Pelcus is to have a sea-bride and she is to be one of the Nereids. The adjective *χρυσήλακος* is applied in the *Iliad* to Artemis. In *Nem.* vi. 62 it is used of Leto; in *Ol.* vi. 104 of Amphitrite. Here the epithet recalls *χρυσεᾶν Νηρηίδων* of l. 7 to mind. γαμβρόν means that Poseidon was the husband of Amphitrite.

37. Αἰγᾶθεν] From Aegae in Achaia.

ἔνθα μιν εὐφρονες ἱλαι σὺν καλάμοιο βοᾷ θεὸν δέκονται,
καὶ σθένει γυίων ἐρίζοντι θρασεῖ.

πότμος δὲ κρίνει συγγενῆς ἔργων περὶ 40
πάντων. τὸ δ' Αἰγίνα θεοῦ, Εὐθύμενες,
Νίκας ἐν ἀγκώνεσσι πίτνων ποικίλων ἔψανσας ὕμνων,

Perhaps Pindar represents the sea-god proceeding from *Aegae* to Corinth in order to suggest that he also favours the almost homonymous *Aegina*, which was doubtless associated in the poet's mind with *Aegaeus* and *Aegaeon*, names of Poseidon, and with the Aegean sea. Hêrê addressing Poseidon in *Iliad* Θ 203 says

οἱ δέ τοι εἰς Ἑλίκην τε καὶ Αἰγὰς δῶρ'
ἀνάγουσι
πολλά τε καὶ χαρίεντα.

38. ἔνθα μιν κ.τ.λ.] μιν followed by θεόν is illustrated by two Homeric passages referred to by Dissen: α 194 δὴ γάρ μιν ἔφαντ' ἐπιδήμιον εἶναι, σὸν πατέρ', and ζ 48 ἥ μιν ἐγείρεν Νανσικαάν εὐπεπλον. Bergk reads ἔνθα μάλ' because a paraphrast has ὅπου δὴ μάλιστα, but that μάλ' would have been altered to μιν is improbable. The presence of μιν serves to make θεόν more emphatic than if it stood alone; we are reminded that the γαμβρός (relation by marriage) of Aeginetan Peleus is a god.—Render, *where merry routs receive him, the god, to the sound of the pipe-call, and vie boldly in hardihood of limbs*. Poseidon is supposed to arrive at Corinth on the first day of the Isthmian games and to be met by festive companies of young men.

40. πότμος συγγενῆς] The fortune or destiny that is born with a man (not *vis ingenua* as Dissen renders). συγγενῆς is almost equivalent to *hereditary*. For πότμος compare *Nem.* vi. 5 and iv. 42. Pindar associated it etymologically with πετεῖν, πίπτω; the fall of fortune; and this association clearly determined his choice of language in the following

sentence: *But at Aegina, Euthymenes, where thy fall was in the arms of the goddess Victory, thou wert caressed by artful hymns and at the Isthmus thou didst shoot forth to greet her.*

The emphasis laid on πότμος by the pause which precedes it and the metrical value of its first syllable (assuming Schmidt's metrical analysis to be correct), supports my view that a paronomasia is intended. See above, p. 82.

41. θεοῦ] Rightly restored by Schmidt for θεᾶς the reading of the mss. Pindar uses ἄ θεός, see above l. 13 ὁ τᾶς θεοῦ. θεᾶς is due to a marginal explanation of some one who wished to indicate that θεοῦ was to be taken with Νίκας.

42. Νίκας] Victory is the goddess won by Euthymenes (and Pytheas) as Thetis was won by Peleus. ψαύω is not elsewhere used by Pindar of winning the meeds of victory (like μίγνυσθαι), and here it must have some special force. In *Olymp.* vi. 35 the word is used of Evadne's first taste of love, γλυκείας πρῶτον ἔψανσ' Ἀφροδίτας. We may, I think, infer that ψαύω was specially used by poets of the touches of amorous encounters and that here it serves to bring out Pindar's parallel between the prizes won by Peleus and by Euthymenes. It is to be observed that *Pyth.* ix. 130 should not be adduced to shew that Pindar used ψαύω with the dative. The words are ὅς ἄν πρῶτος θορῶν ἀμφὶ Φοῖ ψαύσειε πέπλοις. ἀμφὶ makes all the difference. In the same ode however we find ψεδεῖ θιγεῖν (l. 46) just as in *Pyth.* iv. 296 ἀσυχία θιγέμεν, and in *Pyth.* x. 28 ἀγλαῖαις ἀπτόμεσθα.

Ἴσθμοῖ τ' αἶξας ἄντα. καὶ νῦν τεὸς μάρτῳς ἀγάλλει κείνου
ὁμόςπορον ἔθνος, Πυθέα. ἀντ. γ'.

43. Ἴσθμοῖ τ' αἶξας ἄντα] No line in Pindar has experienced rougher usage at the hands of commentators than this. They have all without exception condemned as corrupt and altered in various ways the middle and latter portions of the verse, which however furnish a perfectly intelligible sense; and they have, almost without exception, allowed the first words ἦτοι μεταίξαντα, which are unintelligible and evidently unsound, to remain. The reading of the MSS. (B, β, D) is

ἦτοι μεταίξαντα καὶ νῦν τεὸς μάρτῳς
ἀγάλλει κείνου ὁμόςπορον ἔθνος Πυ-
θέας.

Mezger was the first to see where the corruption really lies and to detect that the scholiasts had a different reading before them. In the scholium on 37 we find Εὐθυμένης δὲ ἐνίκησεν Ἴσθμια, and in that on 38 εἶτα ἐποίησε διὰ τί τοῦ Ἴσθμοῦ ἐμνήσθη. It is clear from this that a victory gained by Euthymenes at Isthmus was mentioned, and this is just what the description of the Isthmian festival would lead us to expect or even predict. Mezger tentatively restores Ἴσθμοῖ τ' ἐπεὶ νίκης, which is infelicitous and evidently improbable; it is weak, and Pindar would not have used νίκης after Νίκας in the foregoing line. ἦτοι clearly has come from a gloss; but μεταίξαντα could hardly come from μετ' Αἰγιναν as Mezger suggests, and the supposed gloss itself ("um den isticischen Sieg als den späteren zu bezeichnen") is an extremely unlikely one. The reading which I adopt assumes that the three first letters of the line ΙCΘ were through some accident lost or obliterated; that from ΜΟΙΤΑΙΖΑCΑΝΤΑ was elicited μεταίξας ἄντα (some Triclinian MSS. have μεταίξας); and that this was 'emended' to μεταίξαντα for the sake of the metre, which was completed

by the prefixion of a convenient ἦτοι from the margin. αἶξας *shot forth*, is appropriate to a victor in a foot race, or in a long jump. The leaper shoots like a bird Ψ 861.

We may assume that Euthymenes was victor in leaping, for thus the metaphor used by the poet above ll. 19, 20 wins an appropriateness which it would otherwise lack. This circumstance I regard as a confirmation of the reading in the text.

καὶ νῦν τεὸς μάρτῳς κ.τ.λ.] That Euthymenes was the maternal uncle of Pytheas is stated by Pindar himself in *Isthm.* v. 62:

ἄρανο γὰρ νίκας ἀπὸ παγκρατίου
τρεῖς ἀπ' Ἴσθμοῦ τὰς δ' ἀπ' εὐφύλλου
Νεμέας

62 ἀγλαοὶ παῖδές τε καὶ μάρτῳς.

It is therefore clear that τεὸς must be addressed to Pytheas and that Πυθέας is a mistake for Πυθέα, the vocative. This conjecture of Mingarelli is confirmed by a scholium which mentions Πυθέας as a variant: καταλληλότερον δὲ ἐνιοὶ γράφουσι Πυθέας ἢ τὴν μήτῳς Πυθέας. The correction is further confirmed by the following lines which evidently apply to Euthymenes, not to Pytheas. That Euthymenes won a victory at Nemea is proved by the plural τὰς δ' in *Isthm.* v. 61, just quoted. καὶ νῦν 'on the present occasion'; the victory at Corinth is a thing of the past (ἔψανσας), that of Nemea is recent. κείνου is generally misinterpreted. It refers to Peleus; compare κείνοῖς l. 22 and κείνος l. 30. [I observe that Tycho Mommsen also refers κείνου to Peleus, though otherwise his interpretation diverges.] Just as in ll. 7, 8 Pytheas was said to glorify (γεραίρειν) the Aeacidae, so Euthymenes is here said to adorn (ἀγάλλειν) the Aeginetans. The renderings of Dissen and of Mr Fennell give an impossible sense to ἔθνος.

ἡ Νεμέα μὲν ἄραρεν μείς τ' ἐπιχώριος, ὃν φίλησ' Ἀπόλλων·
 ἄλικας δ' ἐλθόντας οἴκοι τ' ἐκράτει 45
 Νίσου τ' ἐν εὐαγκεῖ λόφῳ. χαίρω δ', ὅτι
 ἐσλοῖσι μάρναται πέρι πᾶσα πόλις.
 ἴσθι, γλυκεῖάν τοι Μενάνδρου σὺν τύχῃ μόχθων ἀμοιβὰν

ἐπαύρεο. χρὴ δ' ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν τέκτον' ἀθληταῖσιν ἔμμεν. ἐπ. γ'.
 εἰ δὲ Θεμιστιον ἴκεις, ὥστ' αἰδεῖν, μηκέτι ῥίγει· δίδου 50

We may render ll. 43—47 thus: *Also now thy mother's brother, O Pytheas, sheds radiance on the race of that hero's kin. Nemea stood fast by him and the mouth of his country (Delphinios) which (Delphian) Apollo loves. But at home and on the fair-gladed hill of Nisus he conquered the comers of his own age. I rejoice that the whole city joins in the conflict for noble prizes.*

ἀγάλλει] *Adorns*, with the further implication that he furnishes material for a statue of song. The word answers to ἀγάλας which occurs in the first verse of the first strophe, and occupies nearly the same position in the line.

44. ἄραρεν] *Nemea was true to him*. All commentators wrongly interpret *favoured him*, which would be ἡράρε. Mr Tyrrell was the first to point out their error and to assign to ἄραρεν the full meaning of the perfect, which was recognised by the scholiast: προσήρμυσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν ἀεὶ. The expression ἐν ἅπαντι κράτει κεραυνὸν ἀραρότα in *Ol.* xi. 91 is to be similarly explained, *the thunderbolt which clave to him, or stood him in good stead*. (Cp. *Isthm.* ii. 19.) The phrase in the present passage suggests the fidelity of a bride. Dissen compares Νεμέα τ' οὐκ ἀντιβοῖ (*Ol.* xiii. 34) *Nemea counterwaileth not*, but this is not quite the same. The μείς (μήν) ἐπιχώριος is the Aeginetan month Delphinios which was probably also a Megarian month; in it, through Apollo's favour, Euthymenes conquered at the Aeginetan Hydrophoria or Delphinia and at the Megarian Pythia.

The Delphinia are referred to in *Pyth.* viii. 66. φίλησ' is *wont to love* when it comes round; this seems to be the force of the aorist.

45. ἄλικας ἐλθόντας] His coevals who had come. *Pueros Aeginetas, ad certamen qui venerant*, Dissen; but Mezerger is right in not limiting ἄλικας to Aeginetans. Euthymenes conquered the same pancratiast competitors (hailing from all parts of Greece) both at Aegina and at Megara. ἐκράτει *was the victor over*.

46. εὐαγκεῖ] A Pindaric formation, not occurring elsewhere; for its significance see *Introduction*, p. 87.

48. Μενάνδρου σὺν τύχῃ] Compare σὺν Χαρίτων τύχῃ, *IV.* 7. Menander was a famous Athenian trainer in gymnastic. For the introductory ἴσθι compare ἴσθι, κελαδήσω, *Ol.* x. 11. The meaning is: *I say unto thee, Sweet is the meed that by Menander's aid thou hast won from thy labours*. The genitive μόχθων depends on both ἐπαύρεο and ἀμοιβάν. ἐπαύρεο, second aorist. In *Pyth.* iii. 36 we find the aorist active, γειτόνων πολλοὶ ἐπαύρον.

49. χρὴ δ' κ.τ.λ.] *Meet it is that athletes should have their fashioner from Athens*; a manifest paronomasia on Ἀθᾶναι and ἀθληταί.

50. εἰ δὲ Θεμιστιον ἴκεις κ.τ.λ.] Pindar now addresses himself; *But if thou art come with the thought of singing Themistios, be cold no more for the task; be generous with thy voice, spread sails to the topmost yard, and proclaim that as a boxer and in the pancration he was vic-*

φωνάν, ἀνὰ δ' ἰστία τεῖνον πρὸς ζυγὸν καρχασίου,
 πύκταν τέ νιν καὶ παγκρατίῳ φθέγγξαι ἐλεῖν Ἐπιδαύρῳ διπλόαν
 νικῶντ' ἀρετάν, προθύροισιν δ' Αἰακοῦ
 ἀνθέων ποιάεντα φέρειν στεφανώματα σὺν ξανθαῖς Χάρισσιν.

torious at Epidaurus and won a double glory, and that by favour of the fair-haired Graces he (his statue) wears grassy flower-chaplets in the portal of Aeacus' fane.

Themistios is said to be the father of Euthymenes and therefore the maternal grandfather of Pytheas. He is mentioned in *Isthm.* v. 65. The phrase *μηκέτι βέλγει* arrests the attention. *Be reserved no longer* implies that there were reasons for reserve in reference to somebody else. This suspicion is strengthened by two circumstances; (1) the ode, formally in honour of Pytheas, is far more a panegyric on Euthymenes, who is compared to the hero of the myth; and (2) in line 14 sqq. a theme is introduced, to be set aside as deserving of silence. We can see that there is something between the lines, but we cannot trace the letters.

ἰδοῖ] Hermann for *ἰδόν*. It hardly means *utter*; rather *lend, devote*.

51. **ἰστία]** The phrase is chosen as suitable to the name *Θεμ-ιστίος* which Pindar, for the occasion, derives from *θεμοῦν ἰστία* (cf. *πλησίστιος*) *to set the sails in motion*. *καρχήσιον* is *the masthead*, and *ζυγὸν καρχασίου* *the sailyard*, called so from its resemblance to a yoke at the end of the pole in a car.

52. **Ἐπιδαύρῳ]** At Epidaurus were held games in honour of Asclepius. Cf. *Nem.* III. 84. *διπλόαν*, namely in boxing and in the pancration. *ἀρετάν*, *fee of excellence*.

53. **ἀνθέων ποιάεντα στεφανώματα]** A *dictio insolens* with which Bergk compares *Ol.* VII. 80 *μήλων κνισάεσσα πομπά*. The garlands were woven of grass and flowers. It is to be observed that *ποιάεντα* is scanned as a trisyllable: Hermann reads *ποιᾶντα*. **Χάρισσιν;** this dative was restored by Schmid for MSS. *Χάρισιν*. *χάρισι : χάρισσι : χαρίτεσι :: ποσί : ποσσί : πόδεσι*.

NEMEAN VI.

ODE IN HONOUR OF A VICTORY AT NEMEA IN THE
BOYS' WRESTLING CONTEST WON BY ALCIMIDAS OF
AEGINA.

INTRODUCTION.

THE young victor celebrated in this hymn belonged to the Aeginetan family of the Bassidae, whose members had won many crowns, at the great Hellenic games, for wrestling and boxing. But a curious feature marked these successes; they were gained in alternate generations. Thus the victor's father Theon had achieved no personal distinctions, while Theon's uncle, Praxidamas, had been a renowned wrestler; the father of Praxidamas was even as Theon, and perhaps, a generation further back, a certain Agesimachus may have performed some deed of glory. This coincidence, as we should call it, set Pindar a-thinking and gave him an idea for his Ode¹. He reflected that in a peculiarity which might at first sight seem a sign of weakness, the Bassids really resembled the great first Mother herself. The fields of the Earth must sometimes lie fallow that they may gather strength and yield an abundant increase. Thus the Bassids imitate the Earth; nay, it would even seem that the nature or essence of Earth, the common mother of gods and men, had passed in unusual measure, by some special favour, into the seed of this family. And this similitude to Earth, this partaking in her nature, may be considered the auspice of the house, and is the key to its marvellous successes. Such is the thought, which Pindar works out with a curious subtlety, playing upon the names *ἔρα* and *αἶα*. If the last Ode was a Song of the Sea, this Ode is a Song of the Earth.

The first strophe of the Ode, is one of the most solemn passages in Pindar. Both gods and men derive their origin from one source, the Earth; and there is consequently a resemblance between them, notwithstanding the vast distance which separates the certainties of divine existence from the impotence and ignorance of human life. The Greek gods were not like the

¹ Mezger describes the ode as "ein volltönender Lobgesang auf die Unverwüstlichkeit der im Menschen wohnenden zur höchsten Entfaltung drängenden Naturkraft"; and he divides it thus:

προοίμιον 1—7; *ἀρχά* 8—28; *κατα-*

τροπά 29, 30; *ὁμφαλός* 31—53; *μετακατατροπά* 53—57; *σφραγίς* 57—66.

According to my view the natural divisions of the matter correspond to the three metrical systems.

Semitic God, alone, unbegotten, uncreated ; they were far above man, but they were not infinitely above him ; and thus the Greek religion was a sphere for beauty rather than for sublimity. When we read that God made man in his own image, the thought strikes us as sublime ; for while on the one hand the omnipotence of God, compared with our own nothingness, annihilates, on the other hand the idea of our resemblance to the Infinite elevates ; and the simultaneous occurrence of these two feelings is the note of sublimity. But the Greek gods are not infinite. We admire them, we worship them, we may fear them ; but, after all, we and they are sprung from a common mother. They are the favoured children, who have the sure abode ; we wander, outcasts, in a land of uncertainty and chance. I dwell on this, because the passage before us is sometimes called sublime, and *sublime* in the modern sense seems hardly a correct description. It is lofty (λέξις ὑψηλή) ; it is written in the grand style ; but the thought can scarcely be said to contain the element of sublimity. The brazen firmament, which stands sure, is contrasted with the ignorance of men touching the way by which their destiny shall lead them, from day to night and from night to day ; man's life, subject to changes and chances, is really 'nought' compared with the life of the gods. But the main thought is that men and gods have a common mother ; we are all the sons and daughters of Earth. These reflections may produce a solemn mood of mind ; we may feel a certain dejection at the contrast, or a certain satisfaction in the resemblance ; but the atmosphere is too calm and temperate for the pains and pleasures of sublimity.

It is worth noticing, as a literary curiosity, that, while Pindar here contrasts the certainty of the brazen heaven with the blindness and ignorance of men, Mr Swinburne, in lines which suggest this passage of Pindar, at least in a verbal echo, ascribes to iron heaven the qualities of witlessness and deafness :—

'Shall the iron hollow of doubtful heaven
'That knows not itself whether night-time or day be
'Reverberate sounds of a foolish prayer?'¹

The fact that men are the children of Earth is illustrated by the family of Alcimidas the victor ; the Bassids, like the fields, alternately rest and work ; the nature of the universal mother is peculiarly manifested in them. And this special connexion with Earth has been a good auspice for the successes won by the active generations. The boy Alcimidas has even now come from Nemea, a triumphant wrestler in those 'lovely' games, ἐπαῶν ἀέθλων, of Zeus ;—'lovely,' but does not that signify 'Earth-ly,' related to ἔρα, earth ? and does not this omen explain the victory of the really Earth-born Alcimidas ? Yes, his relation to Earth is the omen or bird which he has followed like a hunter, even as Praxidamas², his great uncle, before him. This Praxidamas was the first Aeginetan who won an olive crown on the

¹ *The Triumph of Time.*

statue was erected ; Pausanias VI. 18, 5.

² The first victor to whom an athlete-

banks of the Alpheus. And Pindar chooses an unusual word for the chaplet of olive: he calls it ἔρνεα, *shoots*, suggesting that here too there is a mysterious connexion with ἔρα. Praxidamas also won five victories at Corinth and three at Nemea; his brothers too were distinguished in athletics; and thus on their father Soclides, who had achieved nothing himself, the fame of the sons was reflected.

In boxing, as well as in wrestling, the Bassid family was unusually distinguished, and Pindar ventures to say that no family had won so many boxing-matches on the Isthmus. It is a bold affirmation; and he bids the Muse direct upon the Bassidae a glorious or glorifying breeze of verses, song being the true gale to waft the noble exploits of dead heroes across the sea of time. The Bassidae were an ancient race with a fair record of brave deeds, an abundant theme for poets. Or, as Pindar puts it, reminding us again of the Bassid omen, they offer a rich soil to those tillers who work in the service of the *Pierides*, the Ladies of Fruitful-land¹.

The successes of Callias and Creontidas—Bassids, though probably not very nearly related to Alcimidas—may be taken as examples. In the Pythian games, by the sanctuary of Apollo, Callias won in boxing; the gods themselves protected him; he found favour with Apollo and Artemis, the children of Leto. And here again the omen of Earth is true to the Bassid; the two gods are called ἔρνεα Λατοῦς, suggesting a connexion with the Earth (ἔρα), which inclines them favourably to Callias. As for Creontidas, he had won victories at Corinth and at Nemea, and in both cases his honours were due to the mysterious distinction of his family. Not the Corinthians, nor yet Poseidon, are said to have honoured him at the Isthmian games, but the Isthmus itself, that 'unwearying bridge,' which suggests so strongly Earth's solid steadfast endurance. And at Nemea a like omen prospered him. Nemea lies under the mountains of Phlius, dark shady 'old-world' mountains, in which one might expect to come on curious traces of primeval Earth-worship. Such are the suggestions of the word ὠγυγίους—

δασκίους Φλιούντος ὑπ' ὠγυγίους ὕρεσιν,—

and δασκίους, *with deep shades*, contains the Earth-omen of Dâ or Dâmâtêr (Demeter).

No hymn in honour of an Aeginetan, in honour even of a Bassid, would have been complete without some mention of the great Aeacid family, of which Aegina was so proud. The Aeacids may be considered a mythical prototype of the Bassids; they are both ancient families², they have both shed great glory on the island³, they have both given ample arguments to poets⁴. And like the Bassids, the Aeacids have an omen⁵,—a bird literally,—the eagle of their name, which flies over land and sea⁶. But they have yet another auspice; their name Λιακίδαί is connected not only with αἰετός, but

¹ Περία=πελεια.

² Cf. ll. 30 and 52. See note on l. 44 for the parallel phrases.

³ Cf. εὐκλεᾶ l. 28, with εὐκλέα l. 45.

⁴ Cf. ll. 29, 31—32, with 44, 45.

⁵ Cf. αἶσαν l. 13, αἶσαν l. 46.

⁶ l. 47 πέταται δ'—ὄνυμ' αὐτῶν.

with *aia*, Earth, and thus, in a quite peculiar sense, they are the prototypes of the Bassidae¹. Achilles'² victory at Troy over Memnon, the son of shining Morning, was achieved under this Earth-auspice; for he *descended on the ground from his chariot* and made the conflict *heavy*³ (as though the weight of Earth were on his side) for the Ethiopians.

Ancient poets have rung changes on the deeds of the Aeacidae, and Pindar conceives himself as following in their track along a spacious highroad, with a burden of his own. He is fain to bear on his back a double load of earth, even the Earth-auspices of the Bassids and the Aeacids. 'But I with willing back, in quest of a double load, hied me as a messenger, proclaiming this twenty-fifth victory, won by Alcimidas for his race renowned.' The Greek participle, which I have rendered 'in quest of,' *μεθέπων*, was applied in the first part of the Ode to Alcimidas pursuing his omen; and Pindar has taken care to set the word in the same position in corresponding lines⁴.

- l. 13. *παῖς ἐναγώνιος, ὃς ταύταν μεθέπων Διόθεν αἶσαν,*
l. 56. *θυμόν. ἐκόντι δ' ἐγὼ νώτῳ μεθέπων δίδυμον ἄχθος.*

This artifice explains the allusion of *δίδυμον ἄχθος*.

It is worth observing how Pindar turns aside, just before this fifty-seventh verse, to introduce a naval metaphor, to suit an Aeginetan audience. 'That wave which rolls by the rudder of the vessel from time to time, doth more than others, they say, shake a man's spirit.' The poet would say that he has a more lively interest in the Bassidae, now living, than in the Aeacids; he is not an epic bard.

The ode concludes with a mention of the circumstance that Alcimidas and Polytimidas (his brother perhaps) would have obtained crowns at Olympia, had they not been unlucky in drawing lots, and with a tribute of praise to the trainer Melesias who for suppleness of body is compared to a dolphin cleaving the water.

From this examination it results that the poem falls into three parts, corresponding to its three metrical systems. (1) At the very threshold Pindar gives us the key to the meaning of the whole ode, and the rest of the first system is occupied with Alcimidas and the 'modern' Bassids. (2) The second system is devoted to Bassids of more ancient date. (3) The third system tells of the Aeacids and especially Achilles; and then returns to Alcimidas and his contemporaries. The thread connecting the three parts

¹ This explains *Αλακίδαῖς* in l. 17:—
κεῖνος (Praxidamas) *γὰρ* 'Ολυμπιονίκος
ἔων Αλακίδαῖς

ἔρνεα *πρῶτος* ἔτισσεν ἀπ' 'Αλφειοῦ.
He won *ἔρνεα* for the *Αλακίδαῖς* (as it were *earth-flowers* for the *earth-sons*).

² Achilles is the prototype of Alcimidas (as the Aeacids are of the Bassids); and, according to my reading of l. 50, Pindar

indicates this by *φᾶνε* corresponding to *πέφαντ'* in l. 14.

³ Perhaps this is over-subtle; but it is supported by *ἄχθος* in l. 56. The curious phrase *βαρὺ νεῖκος φᾶνε* (or *δείξε*) requires some explanation.

⁴ Mezger, of course, observed this rhapsody, but did not discern its full significance.

NEMEONIKAI 5'.

ΑΛΚΙΜΙΔΗΙ ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΗΙ

ΠΑΙΔΙ ΠΑΛΛΙΣΤΗΙ.

Ἐν ἀνδρῶν, ἐν θεῶν γένος· ἐκ μιᾶς δὲ πνέομεν στρ. α'.
ματρὸς ἀμφοτέροι· διείργει δὲ πᾶσα κεκριμένα
δύναμις, ὥς τὸ μὲν οὐδέν, ὃ δὲ χάλκεος ἀσφαλὲς αἶεν ἔδος

1. ἔν—ἐν] Editors are divided as to whether these words mean ἐν ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν γένος or ἐν ἀνδρῶν, ἕτερον θεῶν γένος. I have no hesitation in adopting the former explanation. It is on the ultimate, primal unity that Pindar wishes to insist; he admits the vast differences, but he accentuates the likeness. As to the Greek words, one may indeed concede that they might possibly bear the other meaning and that the second ἐν might exclude, not repeat the first, but I submit that they do not naturally bear such a sense, which would almost necessitate ἐν δὲ θεῶν γένος. The opposition is one which demands μὲν—δὲ; μὲν may be left out, but both particles can hardly be dispensed with. Moreover the following πνέομεν, in the first person plural, seems to imply the association, not the distinction, of the two kinds of beings in the foregoing clause. ἀμφοτέροι = we men, and the gods, who are classed with us as of a common race.

2. ματρός] Earth, Gaia, the mother of Iapetos who was the father of Prometheus. Earth was born after Chaos according to Hesiod's *Theogony* (116)

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος πάντων ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ

ἀθανάτων οἱ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόντος Ὀλύμπου κ.τ.λ.

διείργει κ.τ.λ.] διείργει, *separates, keeps apart*, as it were *places a wall betwixt* (eine Scheidewand, as Mezger says), is equivalent to an active of the intransitive διαφέρω. δύναμις κεκριμένα is a *distinct power*, or power in which they differ, and πᾶσα means *in every particular case*. κεκριμένην γενεήν, an expression used by Hesiod (*Scut. Her.* 65) in distinguishing Iphicles from Heracles, is a good parallel, quoted by all the editors. Schol. ἡ ἀμετάβλητος ἢ ἡ κεχωρισμένη. In *Nem.* iv. 1 we met this participle in a different sense.

3. ὥς τὸ μὲν κ.τ.λ.] *Whereas* (or *in that*, explanatory) *the one is nought, while* (for the other) *the brazen heaven abides as a perpetual sure abode*; a reminiscence of Hesiod (*Theog.* 128) who tells how Earth brought forth starry Heaven

ὄφρ' εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ.

A passage in the Sixth Isthmian Ode (l. 42 sqq.), although its connexion is different, has some points of similarity which render it worth quoting.

θνάσκομεν γὰρ ὁμῶς ἅπαντες·

δαίμων δ' αἶσος· τὰ μακρὰ δ' εἴ τις
παπταίνει βραχὺς ἐξικέσθαι χαλκὸπέδον
θεῶν ἔδραν.

Here too is the contrast of mortals and their defective powers (βραχύς) with the gods and the brazen floor of heaven.

μένει οὐρανός. ἀλλὰ τι προσφέρομεν ἔμπαν
ἢ μέγαν νόον ἦτοι φύσιν ἀθανάτοις,
καίπερ ἐφαμερίαν οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ μετὰ νύκτας

5

4. ἀλλὰ τι κ.τ.λ.] *But albeit we (mortals) have some likeness either in great mind or at least in our nature to the immortals, although we know not what rule or measure, day by day nor in the night seasons, our master destiny has drawn that we should run thereby.*

προσφέρειν, to be like, is the conjugate of διαφέρειν (implied in διείργει), and although this intransitive sense is not common, no difficulty need be made. Dissen refers to Frag. 43 (*apud* Athen. XII. 513 C)

ὦ τέκνον

ποντίου θηρὸς πετραίου χρωτὶ μάλιστα
νόον

προσφέρων πάσαις πολίεσσιν ὁμίλει,
where however νόον may be the object of προσφέρων. φύσιν is not the bodily, as opposed to the mental nature; it is rather, as Mezger explains, the whole nature or *Wesen* of man. φύσις ἀνθρώπου is equivalent to 'the animal man', man from an anthropological point of view. It must be admitted however that φύσιν Ὀαριωνείαν ἔλαχεν (*Isthm.* III. 68) supports the interpretation 'body'. ἦτοι 'or at least', because the assumption of similitude in φύσις is less bold than a comparison of intellect.

6. μετὰ νύκτας] Perhaps *in midnight hours*, just as μεθ' ἡμέραν means *at noon*. More probably however it simply means *in the night-watches*, cf. μεθημερινός, *diurnus*. Hartung strangely wishes to introduce νυχίαν for the sake of coordination with ἐφαμερίαν.

7. ἄμμε πότμος κ.τ.λ.] The MSS. have πότμος ἄντων' ἔγραψε. Against Triclinius' obvious correction ἄντων' there are three objections: (1) it is too obvious; (2) the sense demands τίνα not ἄντινα; (3) the metre requires that the second foot of the line should be -- or ~- or -~-.

Various emendations have been proposed. Hermann's ὅαν τιν' was accepted by Boeckh; Ahrens proposed αἶσαν τίν'. Hartung reads οὐδὲ νυχίαν τίς ἄμμι πότμος ἐνέγραψε. But none of these proposals is in the least satisfactory. The reading which I have printed in the text satisfies the conditions of the problem. ΔΝΑΞ in uncials is very like ΔΝΑΝ, and if one of the similar syllables fell out ΔΝΤΙΝ (ἄντων') would be left. (For πότμος ἀναξ, peculiarly suitable in this context, see *Nem.* IV. 43.) It is somewhat difficult to determine what words were read here by the writers of two old scholia which have come down: (1) καίπερ οὐκ εἰδότες εἶτε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εἶτε ἐν νυκτὶ πότμος ἔγραψε τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἡμῖν καὶ τὸν θάνατον. This seems to point to a lection εἶ τιν'. (2) καίτοι μὴ γινώσκοντες μήτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡμέραν μήτε τὰ διὰ νυκτὸς ἐσόμενα μηδὲ εἶ τις [D, but ὅστις B] ἡμᾶς μόρος κατακέκρικεν εἰς σκοπὸν τινα καὶ στάθμην δραμεῖν. The reading of D might point to ἄν τιν' of the MSS.; as for ὅστις, Dissen thinks that the scholiast found a gap in his text, and filled it by this pronoun.

ποτὶ στάθμαν] The point is not that we are ignorant of our goal (which is death), but that we know not the course of our lives, which may alter from day to day and from night to night;—we know not what a day may bring forth. We must not then follow editors who force στάθμα (which in Pindar always means measure, rule or norm) into the meaning of goal (so the schol. interpret by θάνατον); and we may ask them, what, if στάθμα means goal, is the sense of ἐφαμερίαν and μετὰ νύκτας? Is there a new goal every day and every night? and if not, why should the ultimate goal be called ἐφαμερίαν? στάθμα is the line by which

ἄμμε πότμος ἄναξ τίν' ἔγραψε δραμεῖν ποτὶ στάθμαν.

τεκμαίρει καὶ νυν Ἀλκιμίδας τὸ συγγενὲς ἰδεῖν ἀντ. α'.
 ἄγχι καρποφόροις ἀρούραισιν. αἶτ' ἀμειβόμεναι
 τόκα μὲν ὧν βίον ἀνδράσιν ἐπηετανὸν ἐκ πεδίων ἔδοσαν, 10
 τόκα δ' αὖτ' ἀναπαυσάμεναι σθένης ἔμαρψαν.
 ἦλθέ τοι Νεμέας ἐξ ἐρατῶν ἀέθλων

destiny determines the course of our life, but we have to run without seeing the line, and therefore know not from day to night and from night to day where our course will lie. An exactly similar expression, in point of the Greek, occurs in *Pyth.* VI. 45 Θρασύβουλος πατρῶαν μάλιστα πρὸς στάθμαν ἔβα, *he walked by the line that his father had drawn*, followed in his tracks.

Mezger translates, 'obwohl wir weder den Verlauf des heutigen Tages kennen, noch auch wissen, nach welcher Richtschnur nach Verfluss der Nacht zu laufen das Schicksal uns vorgezeichnet hat', that is, we know neither the course of to-day nor that of to-morrow. He is right in his interpretation of *ποτὶ στάθμαν*, but I cannot agree with his view of *μετὰ νύκτας*.

ἔγραψε ἄμμε δραμεῖν, *prescribed that we should run*, a single act of destiny at our birth. Mommsen and Bergk rightly hold that the scholia do not necessarily imply a reading ἄμμι, inferred by Kayser, Hartung and others.

8. *τεκμαίρει* κ.τ.λ.] The active of *τεκμαίρομαι* (*to judge by signs*) is rare; it occurs in *Ol.* VI. 73 *τεκμαίρει χρῆμ' ἔκαστον*, and means 'to give a token or sign'. *Now too Alcimidas sets as a token thereof his natural quality, for in aspect it resembles fruitful fields which, alternating, now yield of their soil an abundant crop unto men, and anon take rest and gather strength.* Hartung's reading Ἀλκιμίδα (genitive) for MSS. Ἀλκιμίδας is unnecessary; τὸ συγγενὲς is the object of *τεκμαίρει*. The scholiasts read the

nominative, ὁ Ἀλκιμίδας, *φησί*, *σαφές ποιεῖ τεκμηριοῦσθαι ἡμᾶς*, and *ἀγχοῖ δὲ καὶ σαφές ποιεῖ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ συγγενὲς ὁ Ἀλκιμίδης*. ἄγχι is used like an adjective, = ἄγχι ἐοικός (cf. Homeric ἄγχιστα ἐφύκει), and takes the infinitive of definition, ἰδεῖν. ἄγχοῦ is used with the dative of nearness in space *Nem.* IX. 39.

9. *ἀρούραισιν*] Mezger has the credit of having been the first to observe the point of this comparison. The alternations in the productiveness of the fields are a manifestation of the nature of Earth, the common mother of men and gods (line 2); and thus a peculiarity derived from that common mother cannot be regarded as a misfortune.

10. *βίον ἐπηετανόν*] Hesiod, *Op.* 31 ὥττινι μὴ βίος ἔνδον ἐπηετανὸς κατὰ κείται

ὥραιος τὸν γαῖα φέρει, *Δημήτερος ἀκτῆν*. In a scholion it is explained by τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον *δαψιλῆ καὶ πλούσια*.

11. *ἔμαρψαν*] The idea seems to be *overtake and lay hold of, clutch back*, as if the σθένης were trying to escape.

12. *ἦλθέ τοι* κ.τ.λ.] *He came from the lovely games of Nemea, a boy competitor, who, in pursuit of this bird from Zeus, hath now proved fortunate in the wrestling bout, as a hunter moving in the footsteps of Praxidamas, the brother of his father's sire.*

This passage has never been really explained by commentators. Two questions arise; (1) what is the meaning of *ταῦταν μεθέπων Διόθεν αἶσαν*? (2) what is the force of comparing Alcimidas to a hunter?

παῖς ἐναγώνιος, ὃς ταύταν μεθέπων Διόθεν αἶσαν
νῦν πέφαντ' οὐκ ἄμμορος ἀμφὶ πάλα κυναγέτας,

ἔχνεσιν ἐν Πραξιδάμαντος ἐὼν πόδα νέμων ἐπ. α'. 15
πατροπαῖτορος ὁμαιμίου.
κεῖνος γὰρ Ὀλυμπιόνικος ἐὼν Αἰακίδαις
ἔρνεα πρῶτος ἔτοσσεσεν ἀπ' Ἀλφειοῦ,

Dissen observed that the hunting metaphor begins with μεθέπων (which we find with ἔλαφον in *Ol.* III. 31). The game accordingly is ταύταν αἶσαν, which Dissen renders 'hanc fortunam, victoriam ludicram', Mezger 'diesem (der Kampfspiele) Loose'. It has been already pointed out (on III. 16) that in Pindar αἶσα does not always mean *lot* or *share*, but also *omen*, *auspiciūm*; and the present case is an instance. Omens were so closely associated with the most common form of omen, the bird-omen, that ὄρνις is constantly used of an omen in general; while, on the other hand, αἶσα is occasionally almost equivalent to *bird* (see below, line 47). Thus, as suggesting a bird, it is peculiarly appropriate with μεθέπων.

But what is 'this omen'? ταύταν shews that it has been already mentioned. When we reflect that the whole point of the foregoing lines is a resemblance of the nature inherent in Alcimidas to the nature of the earth, and when at the same time we observe the unusual epithet applied to ἀέθλων, we detect the bird which plays hide-and-seek, like many other birds in Pindar. The temperament of earth (ἔρα) in Alcimidas is an omen that the Nemean games will prove really lovely and pleasant (ἐρατά) to him; and this auspice is from Zeus, as the god of those games.

The further significance of these words will be seen in l. 45 sqq.

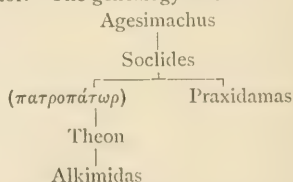
14. ἀμφί] see on *Nem.* I. 29. πέφαντ' is for πέφανται, not for πέφαντο. The elision of -αι is common in Pindar: cf.

Ol. XII. 6 κυλίνδοντ' ἐλπίδες, *Pyth.* XI. 53 μέμφου' αἶσαν.

15. ἔχνεσιν] Cp. *Pythian*, X. 12 ἐμβέβακεν ἔχνεσιν πατρὸς Ὀλυμπιονίκα.

16. ὁμαιμίου] This word is generally taken as an emphatic epithet of πατροπαῖτορος. If Praxidamas was Alcimidas' grandfather, it is hard to see how any intention of stress could justify such a superfluous addition as 'of the same blood'. Bergk's ingenious theory certainly gives force to the word, but cannot be considered in the least probable. He supposes that Theon, who was named Alcimidas' father in the list of the Nemean victors, was his father by adoption; hence Alcimidas had two paternal grandfathers (1) the father of Theon, (2) Praxidamas. Thus Praxidamas is called ὁμαιμιος to distinguish him from Theon's father. The only ground for this theory rests on the circumstance that Theon is called Κρής, a *Cretan*, in the aforesaid list (schol. ed. Abel p. 173).

I believe, the scholia notwithstanding, that ὁμαιμιου is equivalent to ὁμαίμου, *brother*, and that Praxidamas was the great-uncle, not the grandfather, of the victor. The genealogy was:



18. ἔρνεα κ.τ.λ.] This line is defective in the MSS., the word between πρῶτος and ἀπ' having accidentally dropped out.

καὶ πεντάκις Ἴσθμοῖ στεφανωσάμενος,
 Νεμέᾳ δὲ τρίς, ἔπαυσε λάθαν
 Σωκλείδα, ὃς ὑπέρτατος Ἀγησιμάχῳ υἱέων γένετο.

20

ἐπεὶ Φοι τρεῖς ἀεθλοφόροι πρὸς ἄκρον ἀρετᾶς
 ἦλθον, οἷτε πόνων ἐγεύσαντο. σὺν θεοῦ δὲ τύχα
 ἕτερον οὐ τινα Φοῖκον ἀπεφάνατο πυγμαχία πλεόνων
 ταμίαν στεφάνων μυχῶ Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσας.

στρ. β'.

25

Hartung proposed ἐδρέψατ', Bergk ξνικεν; Mr Fennell reads ἐπάρκεσ'. Why any of these words should have disappeared, is not explained. I read ἔτοσσεν because its omission from the text is intelligible on the principle of parablepsia. In uncials the line was written

ΕΡΝΕΑΠΡΟΤΟCΕΤΟCΕΝΑΠΑΛΦΕΟΥ

It is clear how easily one ΤΟCΕ might have been accidentally omitted and the unmeaning ΕΝ which survived would have been discarded. For this rare aorist see *Pyth.* III. 27 τόσσαίς, IV. 25 ἐπέτοσσε, X. 33 ἐπιτόσσαίς.

The word ξρνεα may well strike one as curious for the *corona oleagina*, but it is chosen with the special purpose of suggesting ξρα, the Earth (like ἐρατῶν above l. 12, and ξρνεσι below l. 36); connexion with the Earth is the favourable omen for the Bassids.

21. ὑπέρτατος] Generally interpreted *eldest* (so schol.); but (1) this use is hardly possible without the addition of some word like γενεᾶ (cf. A 786 γενεῇ ὑπέρτερος), and (2) ἐπεὶ, which follows in l. 22, has no point unless ὑπέρτατος means *best*. Pindar says that Soclides, who was personally the least distinguished, became through his three sons' victories the most distinguished of the sons of Agesimachus. This interpretation gives the most natural meaning to ὑπέρτατος, secures for γένετο its full force and explains ἐπεὶ. [After this note was written I discovered that Boeckh had proposed this explanation.]

I follow Bergk in accepting Σωκλείδα, handed down in two Byzantine MSS., for Σωκλείδα, which is inadmissible before δς.

22. ἐπεὶ Φοι] B has preserved the right reading οἱ (φοι) = αὐτῶ, Agesimachus. The other MSS. have ἐπεὶ οἱ (nom. plur.). Dissen illustrates πρὸς ἄκρον ἀρετᾶς ἦλθον by *Isthm.* III. 50 πρὶν τέλος ἄκρον ἰκέσθαι.

For πόνων ἐγεύσαντο compare *Pyth.* X. 7 γεύεται γὰρ ἀέθλων.

23. σὺν θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.] But by divine grace (or concurrence) no other house hath been ordained by the art of boxing to husband her more crowns, won at the city on the Bay of Greece. πυγμαχία is personified; the victories and crowns are hers; and the victorious families are the ταμίαι. Thus the appointment is made in her own interest, and this is expressed by the middle ἀπεφάνατο.

25. μυχῶ Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσας] Corinth. ἀπάσας has its strict force,—Greece entire; the bay of Corinth is conceived as Panhellenic. A modern writer might express the idea by using a capital letter. The κόλπος Κρῖσαῖος (as it was called in the 5th century B.C.) might be well named the Bay of Greece; the expression could not be applied to the *sinus Argolicus* or the *sinus Pagasaicus*. μυχός is the corner or head of the gulf. Aeschylus calls the Propontis μυχίαν Προποντίδα, and Homer's

ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῶ Ἀργεὸς ἱπποβότοιο (Z 152)

is familiar.

ἔλπομαι μέγα Φειπὼν σκοποῦ ἄν τετυχεῖν
 ὦτ' ἀπὸ τόξου ἰεῖς· εὐθὺν' ἐπὶ τοῦτον, ἄγε, Μοῖσα,
 οὔρου ἐπέων εὐκλεᾶ· οἰχομένων γὰρ ἀνέρων

ᾠδοὶ καὶ λόγοι τὰ καλὰ σφιν ἔργ' ἐκόμισαν, ἀντ. β'.
 Βασσίδαισιν ἅ τ' οὐ· σπανίζει· παλαίφατος γενεά, 30

26. ἔλπομαι] *I hope that, having spoken a great word, I may hit the mark therewith, as one shooting from a bow.* The great word is the boast of the two preceding lines, which Pindar now proceeds to justify by recording triumphs of the Bassid family in the remoter past.—B has ἄντα σκοποῦ τετυχεῖν, D ἄντα σκοποῦ τυχεῖν, and a scholiast observes ἐνιοὶ γράφουσιν ἄν τετυχεῖν. Mingarelli's σκοποῦ ἄντα τυχεῖν is generally accepted; but if it were the original reading, no motive can be assigned for the transposition in the MSS. I hold that Pindar wrote ἄν τετυχεῖν, which some MSS. preserved intact, while others (from which those extant are descended) suffered a corruption owing to a wrong division of words—ἄν τε τυχεῖν. A very natural correction was ἄντα, and if this were written above the line or in the margin it might easily be inserted by a copyist. B presents a contamination of both readings.—For construction of ἄν τετυχεῖν, cf. Soph. *Phil.* 629.

27. εὐθὺν' ἐπὶ τοῦτον κ.τ.λ.] The transition here is marked by an abrupt change of metaphor. *Come, O Muse, send straight upon this house a fair wind of verses, laden with glory.* Elsewhere Pindar has οὐρον ὕμων αὖξης (*Pyth.* IV. 3). The MSS. have εὐθὺν, but Schmidt's correction is certain, for (1) a long syllable is demanded by the metre, (2) ἄγε οὐρον is at least an unlikely expression. In l. 28 the MSS. have εὐκλεᾶ· παροχομένων, a syllable more than the corresponding lines in the other strophes. The simplest remedy is to omit παρ, which may have come in from a gloss; so Bergk, who also suggests εὐκλεᾶ· ἀποχομένων.

According to the scholia τοῦτον refers to σκοπόν.

28. οἰχομένων κ.τ.λ.] *For of its heroes dead and gone songs and tales conveyed the noble deeds, whereof the Bassidae have no scant store.*

ᾠδοὶ καὶ λόγοι, Pauw's correction for ᾠδοὶ καὶ λόγοι, is adopted by Bergk. The reading of the MSS. requires the scansion of λόγοι as a dissyllable, which seems extremely doubtful. The best argument for retaining λόγοι is the circumstance that it occurs in the first line of the third strophe; but this argument is not really cogent. Pindar's system of responsions does not require the recurrence of exactly the same word; a cognate word, similar in form and sense, is sufficiently significant.

Dissen takes ἐκόμισαν to mean *fove-runt, servarunt*. But the metaphor is clearly preserved; songs are the breezes which waft the Bassid ships. κομίζω in the sense *waft* is too familiar to need illustration.

30. παλαίφατος κ.τ.λ.] *They are an ancient family, who lade their ship with their own praises, and can furnish the tillers of the Pierides with many a hymn in honour of ennobling exploits.* For ναυστολεῖν with the accusative, cf. Euripides, *Orestes* 741 καὶ δάμαρτα τὴν κακίστην ναυστολῶν ἐλήλυθεν; it is more usual in the intransitive sense of sailing. Poets are called *the ploughmen of the Muses* (cf. *Nem.* X. 26 Μοῖσαισιν ἔδωκ' ἀρῶσαι, *Pyth.* VI. 1, 2 Ἀφροδίτας ἄρουραν ἢ Χαρίτων ἀναπολλίζομεν), because the family of Alcimidas has been compared in l. 9 to a tilled field (see *Introduction*). In choosing Πιερίδων Pindar had a

ἴδια ναυστολέοντες ἐπικώμια, Πιερίδων ἀρόταις
 δυνατοὶ παρέχειν πολὺν ὕμνον ἀγερώχων
 ἐργμίων ἔνεκεν. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀγαθέα
 χεῖρας ἱμάντι δεθεῖς Πυθῶνι κράτησεν ἀπὸ ταύτας
 αἶμα πάτρας χρυσαλακίου ποτὲ Καλλίας ἀδῶν

35

ἔρνεσι Λατοῦς, παρὰ Κασταλία τε Χαρίτων
 ἐσπέριος ὁμάδῳ φλέγεν
 πόντου τε γέφυρ' ἀκάμαντος ἐν ἀμφικτιόνων

ἐπ. β'.

thought of its connexion with *πείρα*. In Homer ἀγέρωχος is only used of persons; Pindar applies it to noble deeds, cf. *Ol.* x. 79 ἀγερώχων νίκας, and to wealth, *Pyth.* i. 50 πλούτου στεφάνωμ' ἀγέρωχον.

33. καὶ γάρ κ.τ.λ.] For once on a time Callias, who had the blood of this clan in his veins, at the divine Pytho, his hands bound with a strap, won a victory, having found favour with the scions of Leto of the golden distaff. ταύτας is emphatic and corresponds to ταύταν in the corresponding verse of the first antistrophe; the omen of the Bassidae (alluded to in ἀρόταις) is not to be forgotten. The collocation of αἶμα πάτρας (for αἶμα in apposition to Callias, Dissen compares σπέρμ' ἀπὸ Καλλιάνακτος *Ol.* vii. 83) is designed to recall πατροπάτορος ὁμαιμίου of l. 16. The exploits of the ancient members of the house are compared with the modern achievements recorded in the first part of the ode.—The victory of Callias was for boxing; schol. τὰ πυκτικὰ σκευὴ μετὰ χεῖρας λαβών. The old MSS. have ἱμαντωθεῖς, but Triclinius read ἱμάντι δεθεῖς, which is accepted by all modern editors. The caestus of the Greeks seems to have consisted in a strap rolled round the hand.

36. ἔρνεσι] ἔρνος is used similarly by Sophocles, *Oed. Col.* 1108 ὦ φίλατ' ἔρνη. Apollo and Artemis, who presided together at the Pythian games are called in *Nem.* ix. 5 Πυθῶνος αἰπεινᾶς ὁμοκλάρους ἐπόπταις. They are here called the ἔρνη of Leto, to suggest a connexion with ἔρα,

the Earth,—the Bassid omen. See *Introduction*, and above l. 18.

37. ὁμάδῳ φλέγεν] And at eventide by the waters of Castalia he grew radiant to the dinning music of the Graces. The victor is saluted by the loud comus-song of young men in the evening and the Graces are conceived to wrap him in a blaze of light. So in the Fifth Pythian the poet addresses the victor Alexibiades, 'the Graces, with lovely tresses, make thee bright' σέ δ' ἡὔκομοι φλέγοντι Χάριτες. ὁμάδῳ is a curious word to denote the comus, as ὁμαδος suggests an unmusical din (cf. *Isthm.* vii. 25 χάλκεον στονόεντα ὁμαδον). φλέγεν, splendebat is intransitive here as in *Ol.* ii. 79 ἄνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει (which Sir Francis Doyle renders by *flowers of fire*). Elsewhere in Pindar (except frag. 26) it has a transitive sense. So the Graces are said to illuminate a victor, *Pyth.* v. 45 σέ δ' ἡὔκομοι φλέγοντι Χάριτες. See *Nem.* x. 2.

38. πόντου τε κ.τ.λ.] And the sea-bridge of unwearying strength honoured Kreontidas in Poseidon's sacred precincts, at the three-yearly festival which the neighbouring peoples keep with the blood of bulls. The significance of γέφυρ' ἀκάμαντος has been explained in the *Introduction*. As to ἀμφικτιόνων Dissen notes: constat quidem praesides Isthmiorum Corinthios fuisse, cum Corinthiis vero aliae complures civitates inde a mythico tempore ad hos ludos celebrandos conjunctae fuerint, quae etiam postea

ταυροφόνῳ τριετηρίδι Κρεοντίδαν
τίμασε Ποσειδάνιον ἂν τέμενος·
βοτάνα τέ νιν πόθ' ἅ λέοντος
νικῶντ' ἤρεφε δασκίοις
Φλιούντος ὑπ' ὠγυγίοις ὄρεσιν.

40

πλατεῖαι πάντοθεν λογίοισιν ἐντὶ πρόσδοι

στρ. γ'.

θεωρίας *mittebant, ut Athenienses*. According to modern mode of speech the Isthmian was a *biennial* feast.

It is worth noticing that the Isthmian and Nemean victories of Kreontidas are mentioned in the same verses of the second Epode, as the victories of Praxidamas gained at the same places in the first Epode. Cf. l. 19 with l. 40, and l. 20 with l. 42. The Olympian victory of ll. 17, 18 was the preeminent distinction of Praxidamas; the Pythian victory (33—37) of Kallias corresponds.

39. **Κρεοντίδαν**] Creontidas is the proper name of an individual, not (as the scholiast says) a description of Callias ('son of Creon'). Bergk observes that the name Creontidas is on a scarabæus discovered at Aegina. Rauchenstein conjectured *Κρεοντιδᾶν of the Corinthians*.

41. **βοτάνα κ.τ.λ.**] *And once on a time the herb of the lion covered his brow, when he was victorious beneath the deep shades, of the old-world mountains of Phlius.*

In *Isthm.* III. 11 Nemea is described *κόλῃα λέοντος βαθυστέργῳ νάπα*. Bergk wishes to introduce *πόα* in l. 41 for *πόθ' ἅ*, but this is quite uncalled for. *ἅ βοτάνα λέοντος* is the parsley, which woven in a garland formed a sort of roof for the victor's head.

42. **νικῶντ' ἤρεφε δασκίοις**] This verse presents an interesting critical problem. The MSS. have *νικάσαντ' ἔρεψε δασκίοις*. Triclinius read *ἔρεψ' ἄσκειοις*, and this led to Schmidt's reading *νικάσαντ' ἔρεψ' ἄσκειοις*. On the other hand Hermann, followed by Bergk, seeks the

error not in *δασκίοις* but in the first word of the line and reads *νικῶντ' ἤρεφε δασκίοις*. We have already met the imperfect and present tenses used of the victor, *νικᾷ he is the conqueror, ἐνίκα he was the conqueror*, so that *νικῶντα* (impf. part.) would be quite in Pindar's manner here; further it was liable to be interpreted in the margin by an aorist participle, if not 'emended'. It might be observed in support of *δασκίοις* that it occurs as an epithet of *ὄρη* in Euripides, *Bacchae*, 218; and that, had *ἄσκειοις* been the word of Pindar, it was hardly likely to become *δασκίοις*. But what decides me in favour of Hermann's restoration is the circumstance that Pindar alludes throughout to verbal connexions between the Earth and the places where the Bassidae, her true children, win their laurels or parsley, and the MSS. reading *δα-σκειοις* presents us with an allusion to *Δᾶ, Δηώ, Δημήτηρ*. The choice of the word *ὠγυγίοις* in the next line (see *Introduction*) emphasises the point by taking us back to the days of ancient Earth worship. Bergk reads *ὠγυγίοι*, and proposes *ὠλυγίοις (dark)*.

44. **πλατεῖαι κ.τ.λ.**] *Broad on all sides are the approaches for tellers of tales to adorn this island clad with glory.* Compare *Isthm.* III. 19 *ἔστι μοι θεῶν ἕκατι μυρία παντῶ κέλευθος*. Here he says, the ways are *broad*; in a similar sense in *Isth.* II. 33 he writes, the way is *not steep* (*οὐδὲ προσάντης*). Dissen compares a line of Bacchylides, *εἰ δὲ λέγει τις ἄλλως, πλατεῖα κέλευθος*.

Observe that the lines in strophe and ant. γ in praise of the Aeacidae are

νᾶσον εὐκλέα τάνδε κοσμεῖν· ἐπεὶ σφιν Λιακίδαί 45
 ἔπορον ἔσοχον αἶσαν ἀρετὰς ἀποδεικνύμενοι μεγάλας.
 πέταται δ' ἐπὶ τε χθόνα καὶ διὰ θαλάσσας
 τηλόθεν ὄνυμ' αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐς Αἰθίοπας
 Μέμνονος οὐκ ἀπονοστήσαντος ἔπαλτο· βαρὺ δέ σφιν
 νεῖκος Ἀχιλεὺς φᾶνε χαμᾶζε καβὰς ἀφ' ἁρμάτων, 50

parallel in thought and phrase to strophe and ant. β in praise of the Bassidae

l. 29 αἰδαὶ καὶ λό-
γοι.

l. 44 λογιόσιν.

{ ll. 29, 30 τὰ καλὰ
...ἔργα... ἃ τ' οὐ
σπανίζει.

{ l. 46 ἀρετὰς με-
γάλας.

l. 28 εὐκλεᾶ.

l. 45 εὐκλέα.

l. 30 Βασσίδαισιν.

l. 45 Λιακίδαί.

l. 32 παρέχειν πο-
λὺν ὕμνον (Πιε-
ρίδων ἀρόταις).

l. 46 (σφιν) ἔπο-
ρον ἔσοχον αἶ-
σαν.

l. 30 παλαίφατος
γενεά.

l. 52 παλαιό-
τεροι.

45. ἐπεὶ σφιν κ.τ.λ.] *For to them (the barads, λόγιοι) the Aeacidae brought a pre-eminent auspice by giving proof of great excellences; yea, it flies afar, their name, over land and across the sea, and it winged its way to the bourne of the Ethiopians when Memnon returned not.* The αἶσα of the Aeacidae is the eagle, as we have seen in the Fifth Ode; and their eagle-name *flies* over land and sea. This consideration establishes ὄνυμ' in l. 48, against Bergk's reading κλέος, for which he seeks to find support in a scholium. For the expression cf. *Agamemnon* 581, ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης καὶ χθονὸς ποτωμένους. For the death of Memnon see *Nem.* III. 63.

49. ἔπαλτο] So *Schol.* τουτέστιν ἐπάλθη, ἐβλήθη for MSS. ἐπᾶλτο (aorist of ἐφάλλομαι). Two considerations decide in favour of ἔπαλτο, aorist of πάλλω (ἔπαλτο : πάλλω :: ἄλτο (ἐ-αλτο) : ἄλλομαι): (1) the ἐπὶ in ἐπᾶλτο has no force. (2) πάλλομαι is the word used by Pindar for the rush of the eagle; *Nem.* v. 21 καὶ πέραν πόντοιο πάλλοντ' αἰετοί.

50. νεῖκος κ.τ.λ.] This line, as it

stands in the MSS., will neither give sense nor scan:

νεῖκος ἔμπεσ' Ἀχιλεὺς· χαμαὶ καμβὰς
ἀφ' ἁρμάτων

(variants: ἔντεσ', Ἀχιλλεύς, καββάς). Countless emendations have been proposed, but not one of them is quite satisfactory. We have two clues, the metre and a scholium. (1) The metre required is

— { — — — — — — — — — —
| | | | |
— { — — — — — — — — — —

(2) The scholium is: βαρεῖαν δὲ καὶ ἐπαχθῇ μάχην διὰ φιλονεικίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέδειξεν (lege ἀπέδειξεν, Bergk). The metre suggests that the verse began with νεῖκος Ἀχιλεὺς, that a verb of trochaic quantity fell out after Ἀχιλεὺς, and that ἔμπεσ' was foisted in from the margin in the wrong place. The scholium indicates that the lost verb meant *showed*; consequently Dissen and Bergk read νεῖκος Ἀχιλεὺς δείξε. But Mr Fennell (with whose view of the passage I do not otherwise agree) appositely remarks that the scholiast's ἐπέδειξε is a reason for avoiding δείξε. Here as elsewhere the art of Pindar himself enables us to correct errors in his text. φᾶνε is the word required here, and φᾶνε is rendered almost certain by νῦν πέφαντ' in the corresponding line of the second antistrophos (l. 13). Pindar thereby suggests a comparison between Alcimidas and Achilles. As to the last words Dissen and most editors adopt χαμαὶ καταβάς. But as it is in the highest degree improbable that καταβάς should have been altered to καββάς, I have no hesitation in adopting

φαεννᾶς υἷον εὐτ' ἐνᾶριξεν Ἀόος ἀκᾶ ἀντ. γ'.
 ἔγχεος ζακότοιο. καὶ ταύταν μὲν παλαιότεροι
 ὁδὸν ἀμαξιτὸν εὕρον· ἔπομαι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων μελέταν·
 τὸ δὲ πᾶρ ποδὶ ναὸς ἐλισσόμενον αἰεὶ
 κυμάτων λέγεται παντὶ μάλιστα δονεῖν 55
 θυμόν. ἐκόντι δ' ἐγὼ νώτῳ μεθέπων δίδυμον ἄχθος
 ἄγγελος ἔβαν πέμπτον ἐπ' εἴκοσι τοῦτο γαρύων

εὐχος ἀγώνων ἄπο, τοὺς ἐνέποισιν ἱερούς, ἐπ. γ'.
 Ἀλκιμίδα τό γ' ἐπάρκεσεν

the reading of Hermann and Schneidewin χαμᾶζε καβάς. κάπετον in *Ol.* VIII. 38, is an exact parallel to καβάς.

51. ἀκᾶ ἔγχεος ζακότοιο] *With the point of his wrathful spear.* Compare Horace, *Carm.* I. 3, 36 *iracunda ponere fulmina*. The MSS. have αἰχμᾶ, which does not suit the metre. Editors follow Schmid in reading ἀκᾶ, but it does not seem likely that a usual word like αἰχμᾶ should have been thus corrupted. I hold that αἰχμᾶ was a gloss on the rare ἀκᾶ, which I restore also in *Nem.* x. 60.

52. καὶ ταύταν κ.τ.λ.] *And this highway the ancients discovered; and I follow them, with a burden of my own.* ὁδὸς ἀμαξιτός is one of the 'broad approaches' of l. 45; and consists in praising the Aeacidae by narrating the deeds of Achilles at Troy (ταύταν). παλαιότεροι means, not *more ancient* but, *ancient* as opposed to its correlative νεώτεροι. The ancients sang of the Aeacidae; I, a modern, sing of the Bassidae, who are also an *ancient* race (l. 32). μελέταν is the *cura carminis* or theme. Dissen's *non sine studio*, suggesting subjective care or zeal, is hardly to the point; rather *ipse quoque habens quod mediter*. Compare the use of μέλω in Homer: Ἀργῷ πᾶσι μέλousα ρ 70, ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, ι 20.

54. τὸ δὲ πᾶρ ποδὶ κ.τ.λ.] *But the wave which at each moment rolls close to the rudder of the vessel, according to the saw, most deeply shakes the spirit.* A

proverbial sea-metaphor is introduced but without disturbing the metaphor of the highway, which is continued in l. 57. Dissen and others take πούς here to mean *keel*; its regular nautical meaning *sheet* being inappropriate. In the scholia it is explained as rudder: πούς μὲν νεὺς τὸ πηδάλιον, and this explanation, I believe, is correct. This passage and *Odyssey* κ 32 (αἰεὶ γὰρ πόδα νηὸς ἐνώμων οὐδέ τῳ ἄλλῳ δῶχ' ἐτάρων) taken together entitle us to conclude that πούς had the meaning *helm* as well as *sheet*. For the sense of the lines cf. *Nemean* IV. 91, 92.

56. ἐκόντι κ.τ.λ.] *But with willing back, undertaking a double load, I went as a messenger, proclaiming this twenty-fifth glory won in the games, yeapt 'sacred',—even this which Alcimidas secured for his glorious race.*

The double burden is the praises of the Bassids and of the Acacids (see *Introduction*, p. 101). Were it not for his special intention of connecting the Bassids with Earth, Pindar could not have used language suggesting that his song was a load, ἄχθος, which always implies oppression. (Cf. for example, *Agamemnon*, 176 εἰ τὸ μάταν ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος χρῆ βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως.) As it is, ἄχθος is happy, suggesting ἄχθος ἀρούρας and the heavy quality of earth.

59. Ἀλκιμίδα] This Aeolic form of the nominative has been restored by

κλειτᾷ γενεῇ· δύο μὲν Κρονίου παρ τεμένει,
 παῖ, σέ τ' ἐνόσφισε καὶ Πολυτιμίδα
 κλᾶρος προπετῆς ἄνθε' Ὀλυμπιάδος.
 δελφίνι κεν τάχος δι' ἄλμας
 ἴσον σποῖμι Μελησίαν,
 χειρῶν τε καὶ ἰσχύος ἀνίοχον.

60

65

Bergk for Ἀλκιμίδας. ἐπάρκεσε (only here in Pindar) is explained by προσέθηκε in the scholia.

61. δύο μὲν κ.τ.λ.] *A precipitate lot* (that is, *drawn too soon*) *withheld from thee, boy, and from Polytimidas two Olympian crowns, hard by the temple of the son of Cronus.* The combatants in wrestling matches were paired by drawing lots. When the number of competitors was odd, one drew 'a by' and was called ἔφεδρος. In the case of Alcimidas and Polytimidas it would seem that really inferior boys had the luck to draw byes, and because they were fresh defeated their superior opponents who were wearied by the labours of previous contests. My rendering of προπετῆς implies that the drawer of the last lot had the advantage of being the ἔφεδρος. If it were proved that the first lot was the 'by', we should have to interpret προπετῆς in the more general sense of *rapidity*.—νοσφίζω, *to rob of*, is used with two accusatives (cp. Soph. *Philoctetes*, 684) as well as with acc. and gen. Ὀλυμπιάδος (*νίκας*) of an *Olympian victory*.

A scholiast gives a curious explanation of κλᾶρος—ἡ προεξάνθησις τῶν τριχῶν. ἀπεκρίθησαν γὰρ ὡς οὐ παιδικὴν ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν διὰ τὸ προηγηθῆναι τὰς τρίχας. πρὸ ὥρας γοῦν τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῖς τῆς ἡβης, φησί, συνεκκληρώθη· οὗτος γὰρ κλῆρος ἄνθους.

64. δελφίνι κεν κ.τ.λ.] *To a dolphin darting through the salt sea would I liken for swiftness Melesias, charioteer of hands and strength.* Compare Simonides, fr. 149 (206) παλαισμοσύνης δεξιὸν ἦνίοχον. See further *Appendix A*, note 7.

65. ἴσον σποῖμι] This is my own correction of the reading of the MSS. ἴσον εἶποιμι, which does not suit the metre. In his 4th edition Bergk reads εἰκάσοιμι *dubitanter*, and suggests ἐξίσκοιμι or ἀντίσκοιμι in the note. But these conjectures cannot be entertained as there is no apparent reason for their corruption. ΣΠΟΙΜΙ was doomed to be read ΕΠΟΙΜΙ which was of course interpreted εἶποιμι. σποῖμι is aor. optative corresponding to ἔσπετε (B 484, &c.) as (ἐπι-)σποίμην corresponds to ἔσπεσθε. The present is preserved in ἐν-νέπω (ἐν-σέπω).

NEMEAN VII.

ODE IN HONOUR OF A VICTORY AT NEMEA IN THE
BOYS' PENTATHLON WON BY SOGENES, OF AEGINA,
SON OF THEARION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE victory of Sogenes of Aegina in the boys' pentathlon at Nemea, in the year 461 B.C., was a consolation, late and all the more welcome, to his father Thearion, a man who had been himself disappointed of winning the fame which he desired. It appears that Sogenes was the son of his old age, born after a long childlessness—perhaps elder sons had died—and called by the significant name 'Saviour of the family,' as a sacred vessel containing the future of the race. An old man, dejected by a life of disappointments and perhaps weakened by ill health, Thearion must have been cheered and elated by the news of his son's victory, rendered unusually conspicuous by the accidental circumstance that Sogenes was the first Aeginetan who won in the pentathlon at Nemea¹.

Pindar, a friend of Thearion, was employed to celebrate the occasion, and wrought, in a more than ordinarily elaborate hymn, all that song can work of consolation, for a man whose past life was somewhat heavy to remember, and whose future was not his own. In fact this Seventh Nemean Ode is for Thearion a song of consolation, immortalising the new hope of an old man, who makes, as it were, a fresh start in life through the success of his son.

And this Ode had a special personal interest for the poet himself. Some words in a paean², which he had recently composed for performance at Delphi, had wounded the susceptibilities of the Aeginetans, sensitive regarding the honour of their national heroes. Having occasion to mention Neoptolemus, whose death at Delphi was enveloped in some mystery, he had spoken of him as 'slain in strife with servants of the temple, in a matter

¹ Schol. *πρῶτος ὁ Σωγένης Αἰγινήτων ἐνίκησε παῖς ὦν πεντάθλῳ κατὰ τὴν νδ' Νεμεάδα· ἐτέθη δὲ ὁ πένταθλος πρῶτος κατὰ τὴν ιγ' Νεμεάδα.* νδ' is Hermann's emendation for ιδ', but there is no reason for changing ιγ'. As Bergk says, *quintus certamen multo ante* [before the

53rd Nemean] *institutum esse constat siquidem Eurybates Argivus Nemeae quintus victor ante proelium Marathonium a Sophane Atheniensi occisus est, vid. Pausan. I. 29, 4; Herod. VI. 92, et IX. 75.*

² See note on line 64.

concerning due honours.' The mere words seem innocent enough, but there were tales in circulation touching the hero's mysterious death, not quite flattering to him, one legend especially charging him with the intention of sacrilege, and the susceptible countrymen of the Aeacids perhaps discovered in the paean a suggestion of this enormity. At least they accused Pindar in strong language of having traduced the fame of Neoptolemus¹, and the opportunity of injuring a rival was doubtless seized eagerly by other poets² who were his competitors for the favours of rich Aeginetan families. We may suppose that a cloud overcast for a while Pindar's reputation at Aegina, where he had extensive connexions; that victors shewed their dissatisfaction by not employing him to celebrate their achievements; and that Thearion was the first who ventured to ask him for an Ode, at some personal sacrifice too, for his fortune was only moderate³, and the price of immortality from the greatest lyric poet of Greece was perhaps a serious tax on his purse. Pindar embraced the opportunity to right himself in the eyes of his Aeginetan critics, explaining that he meant no wrong to the fame of their hero; and he has dexterously interwoven this motive with the main theme of the poem, making Neoptolemus a mythical prototype of Sogenes.

This Ode has won the reputation of being encompassed with insoluble difficulties, but it carries its own explanation with it and yields readily to a really close study. All that has been said here⁴, can be deduced directly

¹ ἐλκύσαι ἔπεισι, l. 103 (an expression as strong as our *mauled*).

² Especially, I believe, Bacchylides. See note on l. 102 sqq.

³ l. 58, εὐκόστα καιρὸν ὄλβου. That the expenses involved in paying the poet and the chorus were no mere trifle to Thearion will appear in the course of the analysis.

⁴ Hermann rejects the notion that Pindar is apologising for a paean, and finds the whole idea of the Ode in a consolation *to Thearion. L. Schmidt combines, as I have done, both ideas. Dissen, accepting the story about the paean, assumes that the house of Thearion was unpopular at Aegina and that Pindar by the myths of Ajax and Neoptolemus, who were illtreated by contemporaries, bids Thearion be of good cheer. Mommsen, as usual, tries to find political tendencies in the Ode and supposes that Odysseus and Ajax signify Athens and Aegina; but this theory was easily disposed of by Rauchenstein, *Philologus*, XIII. 421.

Mezger divides the Ode thus:

ἀρχά 1—16; κατατροπά 17—24; ὀμφαλός 24—74; μετακατατροπά 75—79; σφραγίς 80—101; ἐξόδιον 102—105.

Both ἀρχά and σφραγίς deal with the divine blessing which has been vouchsafed to the house of Thearion, (1) through Ilithyia, (2) through Heracles (cf. ἀλκά, responding in *v.* 12 and *v.* 96). Both κατ. and μετ. deal with song, the former emphasizing its necessity, the latter representing the Muse weaving a crown. The ὀμφαλός consists of two parts, the first mythical, the second concerned with the present.

He finds the leading idea of the song expressed in *vv.* 7—10: (1) the Aeacids favour the Aeginetans in their agonistic ambitions and enterprises, and (2) therefore Sogenes, sealed for such glory from his very birth, is now celebrated in the island which is distinguished for its love of song. These two elements of the *Grundgedanke* are worked out in the two parts of the ὀμφαλός; so that in the mythical narration Neoptolemus' function

from Pindar's words; for, even if a scholiast had not preserved in a note the verse of the obnoxious paean, we should have known from the last lines of the Ode that Pindar had offended Aegina by some unguarded word concerning Neoptolemus.

An invocation of Ilithyia, the goddess who presides over the births of children, alleviating the mother's labour, and extends a beneficent influence over the troublesome years of infancy, was chosen by Pindar as an appropriate introduction. For as all the hopes of Thearion were concentrated in Sogenes, he owed a peculiar debt to Ilithyia for having preserved the boy, to be a strong youth, through the dangers that surround children before and after birth. She is daughter of Hera, who presides over marriage, and beside her at the bed of travail stand the Fates who know the future; these associations are mentioned in the invocation. She watches over the being, whom she ushers into the world, during all his days and nights—*friendly* nights, for the Greeks propitiated the dangers and darkness of Night by calling her 'the friendly season'—until she hands him over to the guardianship of her sister Hebe, to describe whose gleaming limbs, strong for all active masteries, Pindar compounds a new adjective, *ἀγλαόγυιος*, which suggests a work of plastic art.

But the lots of men vary; Thearion, we can read between the lines, was not like Sogenes; and Sogenes, as a glorious conqueror in the pentathlon, must thank the indispensable favour of Ilithyia.

After these verses of thanksgiving—naturally occurring to a really religious mind looking back at a childhood which was now drawing to a close under happy auspices—the poet passes to the victor's country. Sogenes is a victor, and is now being celebrated in a song. Both circumstances are natural, for he dwells in a city, where there is a lively spirit of ambition for success in the national games of Greece, nourished as it were by the Aeacid heroes themselves; and the same city 'loveth dance and song.'

But we are sped quickly over this praise of Aegina,—with a Pindaric rapidity, one might say—to a main thought of the poem, *the power of song to illumine*. Great exploits are buried in darkness, unless they are rescued by a poet, who reflects them into some perpetuating mirror, the streams of the Muses for example, or the shining surface of the headband or fillet worn by Memory, their mother. But while the flowing waters of the Muses (a feature in Pindar's poetical world) are a reflecting surface, the liquid substance, inviting as it were actual contact, suggests a second metaphor;

as umpire is the most important moment, and in the second division Thearion's intelligence, revealed in a recognition of the value of song, assumes the prominent place.

The expositions of Dissen, Schmidt, and Mezger are all instructive, but they are very far from completely explaining

the Ode, as any one who reads it carefully may see for himself.

The three divisions which I indicated in the general *Introduction* nearly correspond to the main divisions of Mezger. (1) System 1. (2) Systems 2—4. (3) System 5 (beginning at l. 80).

and a successful combatant is said to 'cast a *honeyed* argument' into the streams of song. The thoughts and language of these lines are echoed again in the progress of the poem; the darkness, the streams of the Muses, the honey (with a savour of wine or sleep), the gleam of Memory's fillet, recur, as we shall see¹.

A certain abruptness in Pindar sometimes gives us the impression that he has passed to a new subject, without having smoothed the way for the transition; whereas a closer examination shews that the new thought is really confederate with those which have gone before. And so, here, having declared that song is as a light shining in darkness, he proceeds to say, in the epode, that wise men consider the wind which is to blow three days hence, and will not damage their true interests by any shortsighted calculations of mere lucre. They are really wise; for rich and poor must alike stand in the presence of Death. At first hearing, these words sound like a riddle; are they connected or not, one asks, with the things said about the power of poetry? The next sentence helps us to solve the difficulty. 'I trow,' Pindar proceeds, 'that through the sweet speech of Homer the report of Odysseus' experiences has exceeded the reality.' This shows that he is still dwelling on the potency of poetry; and it becomes clear that the wise men are they who are content to sacrifice an ample sum of gold for the sake of future fame—the wind that cometh on the third day. And the remark is specially intended for Thearion; he is one of those wise men; and the poet indicates this by a favourite artifice².

But the mention of Homer and Odysseus leads to a new subject. Homer is not Pindar's ideal poet; in fact Homer affords an example of the power of 'sweet verses' misused. Pindar was a countryman of Hesiod and he did not forget the mythical contest between Hesiod and Homer; he conceived the poet of the Odyssey as a sort of 'sophist,' one who deceives his readers by cunning words, the friend of the crafty Odysseus. And so here, with a clever play on words, he introduces the story of the death of Ajax, to whom, in consequence of the wiles of Odysseus, the Greeks had not adjudged the golden arms of Achilles. Ajax is the type of the brave, but ineffectual hero. If the masses, who made the award, had been keen enough to see that Ajax was the true eagle (*Αἴας αἰετός*), that hero would not have slain himself. Homer himself was blind (Pindar hints), and a mass of men is blind also³.

¹ σκότον (l. 13) and ῥοαῖσι (l. 12) recur together in σκοτεινόν (l. 61) and ῥοάς (l. 62).

μελίφρονα (l. 11) is echoed in μέλι (l. 53, corresponding line of antistrophos).

Το λιπαράμπυκος (l. 15) answers λιπαρῶ (l. 99, corresponding line of antistrophos).

Το ἀλκαί (l. 13) answers ἀλκάν (l. 96, same foot in same antistrophic line).

² ἔμαθον οὐδ' ὑπὸ κέρδει βλάβειν (l. 17) is the second line of the first epode. In the second line of the third epode, speaking of Thearion, Pindar writes

σύνεσιν οὐκ ἀποβλάπτει φρενῶν.

This responsion serves to indicate that Thearion is specially alluded to in l. 17.

³ See note on l. 24.

It is clear that the story of Ajax is introduced with special application to Thearion, whose life had been 'brave' but ineffectual, and who, as some lines indicate, was sensitive to calumny and disparagement. Ajax is said to have been the bravest, after Achilles, of those who came to Troy to recover Helen. Troy, where so many heroes of Greek legend won their laurels, is a figure or type of the games of historical Greece; and the circumstance that Ajax, albeit valiant, never returned to his home with booty and prizes is an indirect consolation to Thearion for having contended in games without success. It seems, moreover, to be suggested by the use of a somewhat rare adjective that the death of Ajax was easy; a *smooth* sword (λευρὸν ξίφος) pierced his heart.

The ineffectuality of Ajax, the prototype of Thearion, is contrasted with the success of Neoptolemus, who serves as a parallel to Sogenes. The transition from the first myth to the second is managed by another reference to the equalising power of Death. It was said above that Death takes not account of wealth; now it is said that Hades regards not renown. Yet there is a distinction even in death. Those favoured heroes, who visit Apollo's temple at Delphi, the centre of the earth, as guests of the god himself, may be said to have won true and abiding honour. For at Delphi there was celebrated a feast called the 'Entertainment of Heroes,' at which Apollo was supposed to entertain those who in their life-time had made a pilgrimage to his Delphic shrine. This feast was honoured with games as well as sacrifices, and the Aeacid hero Neoptolemus had received the privilege of acting as an ideal president of the gymnastic contests.

For the body of Neoptolemus lies in holy ground—in an immemorial grove—hard by the temple; he is the representative of the Aeacids at Delphi. He sacked the city of Priam, winning spoils and glory; but as he sailed homeward, winds drove him from his course, and instead of reaching Scyros, he found himself in Epirus. There he became king of Molossia and was succeeded by a line of Neoptolemids. But his own reign was shortened by an accident. He visited Delphi, to make a rich offering of his Trojan booty to Apollo; and in a brawl touching sacrificial meats he was killed—by a priest of the temple, according to the legend, but Pindar is careful here to call the homicide 'a man' merely, in order to avoid the least appearance of charging the hero with sacrilege. And emphasizing the innocence of Neoptolemus, he adds, 'The hospitable Delphians were made heavy at heart exceedingly.' But the unlucky stroke proved happy in the event, for Neoptolemus received the high honour of burial in the precincts of the temple and of becoming the president of the games at the Feast of *Xenia*.

This myth serves the purpose of explaining to the Aeginetans Pindar's true view of the life and acts of Neoptolemus, whose memory he was said to have treated with scant courtesy; but, for the comprehension of the whole hymn, this is an aspect of only secondary import. Our chief concern is to determine the drift of the myth, in relation to the rest of the Ode. Two things are clear: Sogenes is compared to Neoptolemus, and Neoptolemus is contrasted with Ajax. Ajax was ineffectual and did not come back from

Troy; Neoptolemus sacked Troy and returned with the prizes of victory. In the same way Thearion had failed, Sogenes had won. It would be inconvenient to anticipate, but we shall shortly see that the parallel between Sogenes and Neoptolemus is carried out in detail, so that even the sovereignty in Molossia is not insignificant.

At the beginning of the third strophe, after the mention of Neoptolemus' death, we hear the sound of a new note—friendship which is sanctified by *hospitality*:

βαρυνθέν δὲ περισσὰ Δελφοὶ ξενάγεται,

and this note of hospitality resounds again and again from this point to the end. Neoptolemus is a president at the *Xenia*; and though Pindar does not use the word, he renders the idea even more prominent by an allusive phrase, *εὐώνυμον ἐς δίκαν*, meaning that the hero's office is to preserve that justice whose name is lovely, the right of hospitality (*δίκαν ξενίαν*). We shall soon learn how this idea bears on Sogenes and his father.

We are now reaching the middle of the Ode where Pindar has chosen to end his mythical narrations. In the land of Greek legend the stories of the Aeginetan cycle form a great high-road, tempting for a poet to pursue; but that Greek moderation, which so carefully defined the proportions of all artistic work, reminds him that the sweetness of *honey* may cloy, and the delectable flowers of Aphrodite 'the Foam-born' queen, may pall through intemperate use. The recurrence of the metaphor from honey suggests that the deeds of Neoptolemus, like the exploit of Sogenes, are a 'sweet argument' for the Muses, and helps to indicate the intended parallel.

But Pindar in this passage implies, I believe, a 'darker purpose.' He cries to Aegina, that he is emboldened to proclaim for the brilliant deeds of her heroes a high-road of praise, starting from their home (*οἴκοθεν*): and the form of expression suggests that the adventures of Neoptolemus are not conceived as occurring on the high-road, *κυρία ὁδός*. This conjecture is confirmed by the line which describes Neoptolemus' return from Troy (l. 37),

ἀποπλέων

Σκύρου μὲν ἄμαρτεν, ἔκοντο δ' εἰς Ἐφύραν πλαγύντες¹.

He missed Scyrus strongly suggests deviation from a *ὁδὸς σκυρωτὰ*² οἴκαδε. Now the stress laid on the circumstance that Neoptolemus did not return home, has probably a reference to the victor. In a subsequent verse (91) Pindar gives Sogenes an indirect admonition to be an obedient boy and honour his father. It would seem that Sogenes had been somewhat intractable³, infected with the 'taints of liberty'; and perhaps, after

¹ For the reading *πλαγύντες*, see note.

² *σκυρωτὰ ὁδός* (paved road) = *κυρία ὁδός* (high-road); cf. *Pyth.* v. 93 *ἰππόκροτον σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν*.

³ Such a conjecture had been thrown out by Mr Arthur Holmes, who observes that ll. 90 sqq. "lead us to infer that the

previous relations of Sogenes to Thearion had not been of a duly filial character; probably the young man had left his father's home and been living on terms of some estrangement." For further confirmation see below, p. 123.

his victory at Nemea, he had not returned immediately, like a dutiful son, to his home at Aegina. One might imagine that he paid a visit to Corinth, that city of pleasure, so attractive and dangerous for young men, so dreaded by solicitous parents lest it should prove the 'blastment' of youth. And if this were the case, it would be quite in Pindar's way thus quaintly to 'breathe his faults' and to press home the allusion by that ambiguous name *Ephyra*, which, meaning in regard to Neoptolemus a town in Epirus, might suggest Corinth, called in Homer *Ephyra*, to the guilty conscience of 'the wild boy.'

The word 'honey,' which has already taken us back to the early stanzas of the Ode, prepares us for further echoes of the thoughts there expressed. In the invocation to Ilithyia it was said that men's endowments and destinies differ. And the myths have illustrated this remark in the different careers of Ajax and Neoptolemus. It is therefore fitting and really artistic to remind us of this truth again, before we hear of the non-legendary careers of Thearion and Sogenes in the second part of the poem. But Pindar does not merely 'repeat himself'; he adds something new. 'In his nature and in his life each man differs from another; but no man can win happiness *entire*; or at least, though a few may have gained it for an hour, Fate has bestowed it on none as a lasting gift.' A few may have gained happiness, unchequered and complete, for an hour; Pindar is thinking of Cadmus and Peleus, who married goddesses and beheld the celestials at their weddings. But only for an hour; Cadmus and Peleus saw sorrow and heaviness before they died. This is meant as a consolation for Thearion, whose life has not been happy, and Pindar turns to address him.

Fate, he says, has endowed Thearion with three things—in moderate, not abundant, measure; a sufficient fortune, an ambitious spirit, and intelligence. Like Ajax he was brave and yearned for distinction; and like Ajax (we read between the lines) he failed to win the golden armour. Unlike Ajax however, he is possessed of intelligence; he is one of those wise men (as we have already seen) who consider the wind that cometh on the third day.

But besides these gifts of Fate, which could hardly be thought to have distinguished Thearion above his fellows, but were merely, as we say now, 'respectable,' he possessed a quality which gave him a real claim to a poet's praise, *hospitality*. Pindar, his guest-friend, had experienced his kindness at Aegina, and solemnly sings, *ξείνός εἰμι*, striking again the note which he had sounded before in regard to the relations of Neoptolemus to the Delphian priesthood. But the note is repeated still more distinctly in the next line but one; Thearion's renown for hospitality is not only true of him, but is what we should expect of him; he is merely true to his own family name; he is Thearion, the *Euxenid*, that is, 'the Hospitable.'

And here again Pindar suggests a comparison with Ajax. The fate of Ajax was due to the circumstance that the blind crowd did not recognize 'the literal truth' (*ἐτὰν ἀλάθειαν*) that he was the eagle. Let Thearion, unlike Ajax, be superior to cavil, and instead of repining that he was not successful on the plain of 'Troy,' let him pride himself on a noble quality which

'literally belongs' to him (ἐτήτυμον κλέος). We heard how the stream of the Muses, somewhat as a mirror, rescued doughty deeds from obscurity; we have seen how Ajax had no friendly Homer to reflect his fame; and now Pindar, resuming the metaphor, declares that he will rescue Thearion from 'dark blame'—the oblivion whereto cavil might consign him—by 'streams of water.' 'This' he adds, 'is a meed meet for good men'—for good men, even though they be not great.

And now, with an apparent abruptness, we are taken at the beginning of the fourth strophe to the western coast of Greece,—Epirus. Pindar was a *proxenos* of the Epirots, whom he describes as Achaeans dwelling on the Ionian sea, and he declares, that, by virtue of this relation, he will receive no blame from them, though they, more than all men in Greece, might be expected to be jealous for the honour of Neoptolemus. But what, we ask, is the meaning of this allusive reversion to the subject of Neoptolemus, introduced here, along with some declarations of proud self-assertion¹, between an address to Thearion and an address to Sogenes? The words *προξενία* *πέποιθα*—this recurring note of 'hospitality'—supply us with the key². 'I am the *ξείνος* of the Euxenidai,' Pindar has already said to Thearion; and now he would convey to Sogenes, 'I am the friend of the Epirots, and they will not misapprehend my words touching Neoptolemus; even so, I am the friend of the Euxenids, and therefore, O Euxenid Sogenes (l. 70, compare l. 91), do not misapprehend my indirect strictures on certain escapades, of which you know.' By this means Pindar, in passing from the father to son, indicates the parallel which he has instituted between Neoptolemus and the victor; and at the same time implies that he does not consider Neoptolemus quite immaculate.

An incident in the pentathlon suggested a metaphor to Pindar for clothing his explanation to Sogenes³. It happened that one of Sogenes' competitors, who expected to win in the spear-throwing and was formidable in wrestling,

¹ 'My regard is clear and bright, ὄμματι δέρκομαι λαμπρόν.' This is equivalent to a declaration that he will not treat Thearion or Sogenes, and that he did not treat Neoptolemus, as *blind* Homer treated Ajax.

He goes on to disclaim excess or violence, and expresses a wish that the time to come may prove kindly, choosing, with Greek moderation, the adjective *εὐφρων*, which suggests, not the light of day, but the kindliness of an innocuous night. And Pindar makes a confession here that his Odes really require study, and are not for all who run. 'If a man understand me (*μαθών*—as a 'wise man will, who knoweth the wind of the third

day) he will proclaim whether my speech be out of tune and my words awry.' *ψάγιον* *ὄραρον*, see note on l. 69. These words are meant more for Sogenes than for Thearion, as the sentence *μαθών*—*ἐννέπων* is closely connected with what follows, see note on *ἀνερεῖ*. *ψάγιος*, *thwart*, *oblique*, may be intended to contrast with *εὐθυπνόου* *Ζεφύροιο* of l. 29, and suggest that, like that breeze, the 'swift tongue' of Pindar 'blows straight'.

² The emphasis on *προξενία* is indicated by the metrical respension of *προπρεῶνα* *ξείνων* in a similar position in the second line of the 5th strophe.

³ For this interpretation, I must refer to note on l. 70.

stepped inadvertently beyond the line behind which the *akontistai* were supposed to stand, and was thereby disqualified. Knowing that he had no chance of sufficient distinction in the other events (quoit-throwing, running and wrestling) to win in the pentathlon, he retired from the contest, and the consequence was that Sogenes had one opponent less to conquer in wrestling. The labour of the wrestling-contest, in the heat of the day, was severe, and for the victor the defect of one formidable competitor was really a stroke of luck. So Pindar makes use of this agreeable reminiscence, in deprecating any offence which the tone of his Ode might possibly cause to the boy. Comparing his 'swift tongue' to the javelin, he denies that he has advanced his foot beyond the designated mark; and recalls how the javelin-throwing had released Sogenes' body, before it was bathed in sweat and broiled in the sun, from the toils of wrestling.

But in this passage there is another thought implied, not indeed directly expressed, but indicated unmistakably by the choice of words.

ὑπομύω
μὴ τέρμα προβὰς ἄκονθ' ὧτε χαλκοπάρχον ὄρσαι
θοᾶν γλῶσσαν ὅς ἐκ σ' ἔπεμψεν παλαισμάτων κ.τ.λ.

We are forced to notice the collocation of *θοᾶν* and *ὄρσαι* (not just the word we might expect for hurling a javelin, though *ὀρίνειν* is used elsewhere of exciting the tongue), and the strange, perhaps unparalleled, use of *ἐκπέμπειν*. We can hardly avoid the conclusion that Pindar chose these expressions with the design of recalling those west-winds which *conducted* Ajax on his *swift* ships to Troy town :

θoαῖς
ἀν νανσὶ πόρευσαν εὐθυπνόου Ζεφύροιο πομπαί
πρὸς Ἴλου πόλιν.

By these echoes Pindar would suggest that Sogenes is contrasted with his father Thearion as Neoptolemus is contrasted with Ajax¹. Ajax was *swiftly conducted* to the city of Ilus, but he never returned; whereas Neoptolemus sacked the city of Priam and did return. Now it would have been hardly graceful to say in so many words that Thearion had appeared in some lists as a competitor for glory and had returned uncrowned, whereas Sogenes had been victorious. Accordingly the meaning is conveyed by an indirection. *Ajax went to Troy by virtue of swift winds; Sogenes returned from Nemea by virtue of a swift spear.* That is as much as to say; Thearion failed, but Sogenes succeeded.

This comparison of laurels won at Nemea to laurels won at Troy is continued in the following line, 'If *toil* there was, greater is the delight that ensueth,' reminding us of the city of Priam, where the Danai *toiled*².

'If toil there was, greater is the delight that follows. Let me be. If,

¹ The contrast of Ajax and Neoptolemus is indicated by *Ἠριάμου πόλιν ἐπεὶ πρᾶθεν* in l. 35, closely following on the *πρὸς Ἴλου πόλιν* of l. 31. Neoptolemus

sacked the city; Ajax only went to it.

² εἰ πόνος ἦν l. 74, τᾷ καὶ Δαναοὶ πόνησαν l. 36.

lifted too far, I uttered a loud scream, with a victor certainly I deal not roughly in paying a gracious debt. It is a light thing to twine garlands. Sound a loud note ! Surely the muse is welding together gold and white ivory withal and the delicate flower which she has filched from the foam of the sea.'

The special bearing of these lines on Sogenes is indicated by Pindar in his own way. The *delight* which follows toil is an echo of the *delight* bestowed by those flowers of Aphrodite, which pall on the senses through immoderate use. The third line of the fourth antistrophos¹,

εἰ πόνος ἦν, τὸ τερπνὸν πλέον πεδέρχεται

corresponds to the third line of the third antistrophos,

καὶ μέλι καὶ τὰ τέρπν' ἄνθε' Ἀφροδίσια.

It is clear then that by the loud scream (*ἀνέκραγον*), for which he half apologises, the poet means his saying about honey and the flowers of Aphrodite ; and we are led to detect therein a reproof to Sogenes. The mutining of the blood, so often a consequence of protracted athletic labours 'in the morn and liquid dew of youth,' had seduced Sogenes into ways of pleasure which his seniors could not approve of ; and Pindar gently remonstrates. 'You are entitled,' he says, 'to the delight which is the meed of labour ; but the delight, which you have chosen, soon cloyes. Take rather the delight which I can give you, the fairer reward—not the flowers of the foam-goddess², but rather the foam-lily, the coral which the Muse filches from the sea, and welds into a chryselephantine crown.' To quote a modern poet, 'the foam-flowers endure when the rose-blossoms wither.'³

The past and present fortunes of Sogenes—his childhood under the protection of Ilithyia, and his victory—have been touched on ; and now Pindar turns to consider his future, in the last part of the Ode. The house of Thearion in Aegina was adjacent to two temples of Heracles, and it is in the hands of his 'neighbour' Heracles that Pindar lays the prosperity of Sogenes' manhood. But in true Pindaric style, instead of connecting the close of the hymn directly with the foregoing stanzas, he turns away from Sogenes and begins an apparently new subject, the praises of Zeus. The victories of Aeginetans were generally, perhaps always, celebrated in the Temple of Aeacus, and it was usual for the victors to dedicate their crowns there. Aeacus was a son of Zeus, and there was therefore an additional reason (besides the fact that the Nemean games were held in his honour) for celebrating the king of the gods in the Aeaceum—'on this floor' (*δάπεδον ἀντόδε*)⁴.

¹ This responsion is noticed by Mezger, but not rightly interpreted.

² ἄνθε' Ἀφροδίσια ; the Greeks always connected Ἀφροδίτη with ἀφρός. The expression was chosen for the sake of the contrast with λείριον ἀνθεμον (see note, l. 79) which the Muse is described as ποντίας ὑφελοῖσ' ἐέρσας. λείριον suggests

perhaps the colour as well as the delicate texture of white coral—a true foam-lily.

³ Roses were the flowers of Aphrodite. The line is from Swinburne's 'A Forsaken Garden.'

⁴ δάπεδον echoes Πυθίοισι δαπέδοις of l. 34, and connects Neoptolemus with Aeacus.

The introduction of Aeacus has a fitness and necessity of its own ; but it is also a means for introducing Heracles, his brother and guest-friend. Now the Euxenidae are citizens of the state whereof Aeacus was prince, and therefore they may claim the friendship of Heracles—with more particular reason too by virtue of their name, *Εὐξενίδαι*.

ἐτᾱ μὲν πολίταρχον εὐωνύμφῃ πάτρα,

Ἡράκλεες, σέο δὲ προπρεῶνα μὲν ξεῖνον ἀδελφεόν τ'.

That the 'clan of fair name' means the Euxenidai is clear from three indications¹. In the first place πολίταρχον responds to πόλιν in the corresponding line of the first antistrophos, where the Aeacids are referred to :

πόλιν γὰρ φιλόμολπον οἰκεῖ δορικτύπων

Αἰακιδᾶν.

'Sogenes dwells in the city of the Aeacids,' and Aeacus is the 'city-prince' of Sogenes' clan—these statements are the same fact from opposite points of view. In the second place, the collocation εὐωνύμφῃ πάτρα echoes *Εὐξενίδα πάτραθε* of l. 70. In the third place, we have already met εὐώνυμον referring to the fair name ξείνος, in connexion with the Xenia at Delphi ; and we may infer that here, similarly, it designates the Euxenidai. But apart from these indications, the argument of Pindar requires this interpretation ; for his object is to bring Heracles into connexion with the family of Sogenes.

But not only by virtue of the ancient guest-friendship existing between Aeacus and Heracles, sons of Zeus, but also by virtue of the casual circumstance that his father's house in Aegina adjoins two *Heraclea* (one on each hand, like the arms of a yoke projecting on either side of a chariot-pole), may Sogenes depend on the aid of him 'who subdued the Giants.' With Heracles, his neighbour, to prosper him (Pindar suggests, with indirect admonition to the lad) Sogenes were fain to dwell in that rich street, where his fore-fathers had dwelt, hallowed by the two shrines, 'fostering a spirit of tenderness' (the Roman *pictas*) 'to his father.' The less cogent argument from neighbourhood, which had not the binding sanctity of the relation of hospitality, is dignified by an echo from the old Boeotian poet, who in his work on husbandry had occasion to refer to good and bad neighbours².

Now throughout this stanza the parallel between Sogenes and Neoptolemus is sustained. As the son of Achilles was the guest-friend of 'the hospitable Delphians,' and still presides at the *Xenia* 'of lovely name' ; even so the son of Thearion has the advantage of an ancient tie of hospitality with Heracles, less likely to fade away owing to the fact that he is one of the *Euxenids*, a clan 'of lovely name.' And as Neoptolemus is buried close to the house of the Pythian god, Sogenes' dwelling is hard by the shrines of Heracles in 'a hallowed street.' And the street is described as rich—enriched doubtless by the Euxenids, even as Delphi received in the treasure-house of Apollo rich offerings from Neoptolemus³.

¹ See note on l. 85.

² Line 87.

³ εὐκλήμονα l. 92 ; κτέαν' ἀκροθινίων l. 41.

Heracles (Heracles *Alexikakos*¹, in his capacity of helping men against harm) is invoked to preside over the future life of Sogenes, as Ilithyia had presided over his childhood. And thus the Ode closes with an appeal to Heracles, rendered effective by echoes of that address to Ilithyia at the beginning—an artistic device aided by the kindred associations and connexions of the two deities. For Heracles was in name connected with Hera, Ilithyia's mother, and was the husband of Hebe, Ilithyia's sister. We remember the saying that each man is *yoked* to a different destiny, and that through Ilithyia's help Sogenes had distinguished himself from others by excellence in athletic contests. Well,—Heracles is now asked to *harness* the youth of Sogenes and the old age of Thearion to a life of 'steadfast, durable strength.' Dwelling together in their Aeginetan house, they are to be as it were the two trace-horses of that fanciful car, whose pole, their house, is joined to the two temples as the arms of a yoke, the car itself being the *βίотος ἐμπεδοσθενής*, 'life enduringly strong.'

The wonderfully careful choice of language in this passage is characteristic of Pindar :

εἰ γάρ σφισιν ἐμπεδοσθενέα βίотον ἀρμόσας
ἦβᾶ λιπαρῷ τε γήραϊ διαπλέκειν
εὐδαίμον' ἔόντα.

ἐμπεδοσθενής, an adjective coined for his purpose, echoes two expressions occurring in other parts of the Ode, whereof one referred to Sogenes, the other to Thearion. The second half of the compound echoes *παῖ μεγαλοσθενέος* Ἦρας of line 2 ; while the first half recalls *τέλος ἔμπεδον ὥρεξε* of line 58. Again Hebe, the goddess of youth (*ἦβᾶ*), was celebrated in the opening invocation, while *λιπαρῷ* is an echo of the shining fillet of Memory, which was especially meant to console Thearion (l. 15).

But Pindar has not exhausted the resources of the myth of Neoptolemus, and, looking still further into the future, he prays that the children's children of Sogenes may possess for ever the honour which the family now enjoys, and honour fairer still ; we are not to forget that Sogenes is 'saviour of the race.' In this prayer the words which had been used of Neoptolemus' posterity reigning in Molossia are repeated².

And it is just this echo, bringing us back involuntarily to thoughts of him, that renders the transition to Neoptolemus, in the last four lines of the Ode, unstrained and really artistic. Otherwise, they would be almost offensive, as an abrupt 'appendix.' In these lines Pindar disclaims the charge of having traduced Neoptolemus, and refers to the want of inventive power shewn by his rivals, who perhaps had tried to poison Aeginetan opinion against him ; they can never find anything newer to say in praise of

¹ This function is indicated by *ἀλκάν*, l. 96. *ἀλκάν* responds to *ἀλκαλ* l. 12 (as Mezger noticed), and the responsion indicates that Heracles and Pindar (both *ξείνοι*) are to perform somewhat the same

function for Thearion and his son. The thought is emphasized by the further responsions of *προξενία* (65) and *ξείνον* (86) ; *λιπαράμπυκος* (15) and *λιπαρῷ* (99).

² See note.

Aegina than that *Æacus was the son of Zeus*¹. It seems probable that Bacchylides was the rival at whom this arrow was chiefly aimed; Pindar's words at least are remarkable enough to justify the conjecture that some special allusion is intended. 'To repeat the same words three times or four, like rhymeless-barkers repeating to children, "A son of Zeus Corinthus hight," argues lack of wit.' *μαψυλάκας*, which I have rendered *rhymeless-barkers*, was certainly coined by Pindar to convey some point, for which the dignity of poetry demanded a decent veil. I believe that *μαψυλάκας* is a parody on Bacchylides (*Βακχυλίδης*) to which it corresponds in scansion. The *malice* of Pindar, who may have had good cause for offence, might have resolved the name of his rival into two parts, suggesting the wild utterances of intoxication and the barking of a dog. *μάψ* was just the word to parody the former, while *-υλάκας* rendered evident an imputation which accident had laid, and Pindar had discovered, in *-υλίδης*.

All the 'stages' of life, from the portals of birth, where stand Ilithyia and the Moirai, to the bourn of Hades, are touched upon—the tenderness of childhood, the strength and waywardness of boyhood, the gleaming limbs of youth, the trials of manhood, old age; but one relation of life, applying to all seasons, may be almost said to dominate the Ode,—the friendly intercourse of men, sanctified by Zeus Xenios. Such a relation existed between Neoptolemus and the Delphian *Xenagetæ*; Neoptolemus presided at the games of the Delphic *Xenia*; Pindar is the *proxenus* of the Epirots; he is the friend (*xeinos*) of Thearion; Heracles was the *xeinos* of Æacus and may extend his friendship to the descendants of Æacus' subjects. This motive is suggested by the name of Thearion's clan the *Euxenids*, who might be expected, in loyalty to their name, to develop this graceful side of life.

One might compare this elaborate Ode, a characteristic work of Greek art, to a chryselephantine statue, in which every line of carving is calculated. To use Pindar's own figure, in the verses of white ivory and rhythms of ringing gold, forming a true crown of Memory, are reflected, as in a mirror, the gleaming limbs of Sogenes, the strong young wrestler (round whom, less distinctly seen, delicate desires hover), and in the background his home at Aegina—we can see the house adjacent to the two temples, in a quiet street,—as a hallowed place, suggesting immemorial religious observances, performed in common with the other houses of the Euxenid clan, at a hearth now depending on him for its future existence.

The whole life of the boy, past, present and future, is the warp of the work (to adopt another Pindaric metaphor) whereinto is woven the history of Neoptolemus, skilfully sketched as a parallel to Sogenes. And over the cloth, thus wrought, are embroidered 'foam-lilies,' with an amorous perfume

¹ That this is the real meaning of Pindar's 'last words' on the subject of Neoptolemus, I am convinced not only from the words themselves, but from the assertion at the end of the third epode

that Zeus was the father of Æacus, an assertion which is curiously introduced by the word *λέγοντι* (l. 84)—clearly an allusion to the iterations of other poets. See note on l. 105.

of the foam-born goddess herself in some of them ; such as the sheen of Memory's fillet, the argument of honey, the luminous streams of music, the criticism on Homer, the flowers of Aphrodite, the yoking of the father and son as two steeds of a chariot. And Death, whose existence is recognised as a significant fact of life, is hushed away in the sanctuary of Apollo—where dead heroes still prolong a curious Greek existence—, and Sogenes might contemplate, without shrinking, the day (not definitely referred to, but thus happily suggested) when he himself should lie in hallowed ground, in the precincts of the temple of Heracles, close to the house of his fathers.

METRICAL ANALYSIS.

STROPHE.

A.

vv. 1—2. a. $\dot{\cup} - \cup\cup - \cup - . \dot{\cup} \cup - \cup - \wedge | \dot{\cup}\cup\cup - \cup\cup\cup - \cup - . \dot{\cup}\cup\cup - \cup - .$ (15)

v. 2. b. — ∪ — ∪ — ∩ (3)

vv. 4, 5. $a'. \dot{\cup} \cup \cup - \cup - . \dot{\cup} \cup - \cup - \cup - \cup \mid \dot{\cup} \cup - . - \cup \infty \cup \dot{\cup} \cup \cup - \cup - . - \cup$ (15)

B.

$$vv. 6, 7. \text{ a. } \underline{\dot{\cup}} \cup \cup - . - \cup - \cup \dot{\cup} \cup \cup - | \underline{\dot{\cup}} \cup \cup - \cup - . \dot{\cup} \cup \dot{\cup} \cup - \cup - - \quad (I_3)$$

vv. 8, 9. $\acute{c}$. $\underline{\underline{uu}}-u- \cdot \overset{\acute{c}}{u}-u^{\acute{c}}- | -u-u- \cdot -u-u-u- (I3)$

We have thus two parts of which the first is mesodic.

$$15(=7+8) \cdot 3 \cdot 15(=7+8),$$

$$I_3(=6+7), I_3(=6+7).$$

EPODE.

$$vv, 1, 2. \quad a. \quad \overset{\cdot}{\wedge} \cup - \cup - \cdot \overset{\cdot}{\wedge} \cup \cup - \cdot \mid \overline{\cup} \cup \cup \wedge \mid \overset{\cdot}{\wedge} \cup - \cup \cup - \cdot - \cup \cup \wedge \quad (12)$$
$$vv, 3, 4. \quad a'. \frac{1}{\omega} u - u - u - \cdot \overline{\omega} u - u = \Lambda \mid \overline{\omega} u - u - u - \cdot \overline{\omega} u - u - \Lambda \quad (I_2)$$

v. 5. b. $\overset{\circ}{\text{u}}\text{u}-\text{uu}-\text{u}-\cdot \mid \overset{\circ}{\text{u}}\text{u}-\text{uu} \mid \text{u}-\text{u}-\cdot-\Lambda$ (10)

The structure is epodic. Schmidt argues that as the last verses of the strophes are acatalectic, the first syllable of the epode cannot be an anacrusis, and assumes a *Vorpause*, which enables him to constitute the epodic symmetry.

$12 (= 5 + 2 + 5) \cdot 12 (= 6 + 6)$

$10 (= 4 + 2 + 4).$

The rhythm of this ode is logaoedic. We may assume that the musical harmony which accompanied it (as also *Nem.* VI.) was Aeolian.

NEMEONIKAI Z'.

ΣΩΓΕΝΕΙ ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΗι

ΠΑΙΔΙ ΠΕΝΤΑΘΛΩι.

Ἐλείθνια, πάρεδρε Μοιρᾶν βαθυφρόνων, στρ. α'.
 παῖ μεγαλοσθενέος, ἄκουσον, Ἥρας, γενέτειρα τέκνων· ἄνευ σέθεν
 οὐ φάος, οὐ μέλαιναν δρακέντες εὐφρόναν
 τεὰν ἀδελφεὰν ἐλάχομεν ἀγλαόγυιον Ἥβαν.
 ἀναπνέομεν δ' οὐχ ἅπαντες ἐπὶ Φίσα· 5

1. Ἐλείθνια, κ.τ.λ.] *Ilithyia*, associate of the deep-thinking Fates, daughter of *Hera* whose strength is vast, hearken, O thou who bringest children to the birth. In *Hesiod Theog.* 922 *Ilithyia* (*Εἰλείθνια*) is counted among the daughters of *Hera*, the goddess who protected marriage. In *Homer*, *Λ* 270, the conception is plural; *μογυστόκοι εἰλείθναι*, Ἥρης θυγατέρες. The worship of *Hera* at *Aegina* is said to have been derived from *Argos*, where she was held in higher honour than in any other part of Greece. The association of *Ilithyia* with the Fates is so natural that perhaps it hardly needs illustration, but I may cite *Olymp.* VI. 42

ὁ Χρυσοκόμας

πραῦμητίν τ' Ἐλείθνιαν παρέστασέν τε
 Μοῖρας.

βαθύφρων (equivalent to *βαθυμήτα* or *βαθύβουλος*) occurs in *Solon*.

2. *μεγαλοσθενέος*] The force of this adjective is that the *σθένος* may be communicated; cf. below line 98. *γενέτειρα* does not occur elsewhere either in this sense or in the sense of *mother*; in *Euphorion*, 47, it means *daughter*, just as *γενέτης* means (1) *father*, (2) *son*.

ἄνευ σέθεν κ.τ.λ.] That is, ἄνευ σέθεν οὐκ ἐλάχομεν Ἥβαν δρακέντες φάος τε καὶ μέλαιναν εὐφρόναν (= σέο ἕκατι ἐλάχομεν κ.τ.λ.). Not without thy grace saw we light and black night and enjoyed the presence of thy sister, bright-limbed *Hebe*. The thought is that we reach the season of *Hebe* by living through a series of days and nights. *Rauchenstein* is certainly wrong in finding a reference to the darkness of the womb in μέλαιναν εὐφρόναν. Compare below l. 67.

4. Ἥβαν] A daughter of *Hera* and so *Ilithyia*'s sister. Her limbs are bright and glorious; probably *Pindar* had some work in marble before his mind. Mr *Fennell* makes the suggestion that the epithet is 'causative = bestowing victorious limbs'. Such an interpretation transports us from the realm of poetry to the realm of prose. *Hebe* is not a mere abstraction.

Observe that *ἀδελφεὰν* is trisyllabic; so *ἀδελφεοῖσιν*, *Isth.* VII. 35. The form *ἀδελφός* is not found in *Pindar*.

5. ἀναπνέομεν κ.τ.λ.] But we draw not the breath of life, all as one, for the same ends. ἀναπνέω, simply *respire*. ἐπὶ ἴσα (*Triclinius*' correction for MSS. ἐπ'

εἶργει δὲ πότμῳ ζυγένθ' ἕτερον ἕτερα. σὺν δὲ τὴν
καὶ παῖς ὁ Θεαρίωνος ἀρετᾷ κριθεῖς
εὐδοξος αἰδέεται Σωγένης μετὰ πενταέθλοις.

πόλιν γὰρ φιλόμολπον οἰκεῖ δορικτύπων ἀντ. α'.
Λιακιδᾶν· μάλα δ' ἐθέλοντι σύμπειρον ἀγωνία θυμὸν ἀμφέπειν. 10
εἰ δὲ τύχῃ τις ἔρδων, μελίφρον' αἰτίαν

ῖσα) *with a view to equal destinies*. This sentence illustrates the difference of πάντες and ἅπαντες, both of which mean *all*, but while the latter emphasizes the unity, the former accentuates the plurality. The thought that a number of men should have exactly the same destinies, groups those men closely together, hence ἅπαντες; if Pindar had used a positive expression, he must have said ἀναπνέομεν πάντες ἐπὶ ἕτερα.

6. εἶργει δέ κ.τ.λ.] *But each of us, yoked to his destiny, is severed from his fellow by a different lot.*

The MSS. have ζυγόν θ', and most editors follow Schmid in reading ζυγένθ', which is a very slight change; ε was liable to confusion with O.—Each man has his individual πότμος, to which he is yoked, and the things for which he is destined are ἕτερα (not ῖσα) from the lots of others. Thus individual lives are differentiated; and εἶργει expresses the individualisation.

σὺν δὲ τὴν κ.τ.λ.] ἀρετὰ in games is the mark which differentiates Sogenes, and his destiny is determined by the special care and favour of the goddess Ilithyia, whose services to him are expressed in his name, Σω-γένης. κριθεῖς resumes the sense of εἶργει; Sogenes is distinguished by valour, and wins a song as glorious among pentathlon-victors. Dissen is wrong in supposing an *opposition* between πότμῳ and σὺν τὴν.—The note of the scholiast is worth quoting:

ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασι πρὸς τοῖνομα τοῦ Σωγένης παρελκύσθαι τὴν Εἰλειθυίαν. εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν σωγενῇ τινα διὰ τὸ τὰ γενόμενα

ἀνασώζειν. τὸν οὖν Πίνδαρον ψυχρευσάμενον πρὸς τοῖνομα τῆς Εἰλειθυίας μεμνησθαι. The frigidity is a matter of opinion, but the supposition of the ἐνιοὶ touches the truth.

9. πόλιν γάρ κ.τ.λ.] *For he dwells in the song-loving city of the spear-clashing Aeacids.* φιλόμολπον and δορικτύπων (both ἅπαξ εἰρημένα) give or suggest the reasons (introduced by γάρ) for Sogenes receiving a song of triumph and winning a victory.

10. μάλα δ' ἐθέλοντι κ.τ.λ.] *Right fain are they (the Aeacids) to foster a spirit conversed in the art of the games.* The word σύμπειρον is coined by Pindar to combine the two kindred ideas of συνόντα and ἔμπειρον. I have ventured to render it by coining the expression *conversed in*, which suggests *conversant with* (συνόντα), and *versed in* (ἔμπειρον). The subject of ἐθέλοντι is clearly Λιακίδαί, not as Dissen πολιταί (implicit in πόλιν). For θυμὸν ἀμφέπειν compare l. 91.

11. εἰ δέ κ.τ.λ.] *A successful exploit is an argument, sweet as honey, cast into the streams of the Muses* (lit. by a successful exploit, one casts etc.); *for mighty deeds of prowess are wrapt in deep darkness, if they remain unsung; yea, for fair works we know one, one only mirror, if, by grace of Memory with the shining headband, they win the meed of toils in lines of sounding song.*

The adjective μελίφρων, *honey-hearted*, (not *sweet to the heart*, as Liddell and Scott explain) is used in Homer of sleep and wine. αἰτίαν is a cause or argument for song. The streams of the Muses are

ῥοαῖσι Μοισᾶν ἐνέβαλε· ταὶ μεγάλαι γὰρ ἀλκαὶ
σκότον πολὺν ὕμνων ἔχοντι δεόμεναι·
ἔργοις δὲ καλοῖς ἔσοπτρον ἴσαμεν ἐνὶ σὺν τρόπῳ,
εἰ Μναμοσύνας ἔκατι λιπαράμπυκος
εὔρηται ἄποινα μόχθων κλυταῖς ἐπέων αἰοδαῖς.

15

σοφοὶ δὲ μέλλοντα τριταῖον ἄνεμον
ἔμαθον, οὐδ' ὑπὸ κέρδει βλάβεν·
ἀφνεὸς πενιχρὸς τε θανάτου πάρος

ἐπ. α'.

conceived as already flowing; the μελ-
φρων αἰτία determines that the flowing
element shall be as honey. Compare
below l. 53. For the absolute use of
τυχεῖν cf. *Ol.* II. 52 τὸ δὲ τυχεῖν παραλύει
δυσφρονᾶν.

12. ἀλκαί] Compare below ἀλκάν,
l. 96. The sentiment of these lines is
reproduced in a stanza of Horace (IV.
9, 26)

omnes illacrimabiles

urgentur ignotique longa

nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

The metaphor of the mirror begins with
σκότον. For ἔχειν σκότον Dissen cites
Euripides, *Incert. fr.* 51 ἡ δ' εὐλάβεια
σκότον ἔχει καθ' Ἑλλάδα.

15. Μναμοσύνας λιπαράμπυκος] The
striking adjective λιπαράμπυξ, which
Pindar seems to have coined, is chosen
on account of the metaphor. The head-
band of Memory is conceived as a bright
surface which reflects. In *Pyth.* III. 89
we find χρυσαμπύκων Μοισᾶν (in *Ol.* VII.
64 this adjective is applied to Lachesis).
λιπαράμπυκος is emphatic, compare below
line 99.

17. σοφοὶ δέ κ.τ.λ.] *Wise men learn
to know the wind that is to blow on the
third day, and are not perverted at the
beck of gain.* Difficulties have been dis-
covered in the words ὑπὸ κέρδει βλάβεν,
and βάλων of Triclinius (which might find
a doubtful support in λάβεν of D) led to
Donaldson's ἀπὸ κέρδει βάλων. But βλά-
βεν is demonstrated to be right by ἀπο-

βλάπτει in the corresponding verse of the
third epode (l. 60); cf. Mezger, p. 374.
Dissen and Mezger however are hardly
to be followed in their assumption of a
tmesis and a verb ὑποβλάπτω. It is
quite legitimate to suppose that Pindar
might have coined such a verb if he had
wished to express some subtlety for
which βλάπτω was inadequate; but it is
clear that in the present case the com-
pound verb would have no force. And
even if we could think some shade of
meaning into it, the interpretation would
be infelicitous; for we should thereby
lose the poetical phrase ὑπὸ κέρδει, which
is more suggestive and 'elegant' than
κέρδει alone. Gain is the seducer, the
influence which causes the βλαβή; and
ὑπὸ expresses a little less than subjection,
a good deal more than accompaniment.
In fact ὑπὸ κέρδει suggests phrases such
as ἐφόβηθεν ὑφ' Ἑκτορι and ὦρτο κύμα
πνοιῇ ὑπο, on the one hand, and on the
other hand ὑπ' αὐλητῇρι πρόσθ' ἔκιον
(Hesiod, *Sc. Her.* 283).

βλάβεν was the reading of the
scholiast who wrote: οὐχ ὑπτιοῦνται
πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αγαθόν, and again οὐχὶ
διὰ τὸ παρὸν κέρδος, κέρδος δὲ τὸ τοῦ
πλοῦ εὐδιον, ἐξημώθησαν τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα
πλοῦν κ.τ.λ.

19. ἀφνεὸς πενιχρὸς τε κ.τ.λ.] *The
rich man and the poor man lie together
to the presence of Death.* The MSS. have
θανάτου παρὰ σᾶμα. The reading of
Hermann θάνατον πάρα θαμί must be

ἅμα νέονται. ἐγὼ δὲ πλέον' ἔλπομαι 20
λόγον Ὀδυσσέος ἢ πάθαν διὰ τὸν ἰδυεπῆ γενέσθ' Ὀμηρον.

ἐπεὶ ψεύδεσσι Φοι ποτανῇ ᾠμὴ μαχανᾷ στρ. β'.

rejected because θαμά (as Dr Ingram has shewn) can only mean *often*, which has no sense here; and for the same reason Bergk's θανάτου πόρον σάμα (cf. *σαμινά* θαμινά, *συνεχῶς* Λάκωνες, Hesychius) cannot stand. Wieseler's θανάτου πέρας ἅμα has found favour with many, but on closer examination its speciousness disappears. In the first place, the textual critic asks, why should such a very simple and common phrase have been corrupted in the MSS.? In the second place, we have to assume that πέρας θανάτου (that is, the end of life which consists in death; would not Pindar have written either τέλος θανάτου or πέρας βίου?) is used in a very rare construction (νέομαι without a preposition, H 335) with a verb of motion.

The reading which I have adopted θανάτου πάρος ἅμα νέονται both satisfies the critical conditions of the problem and ascribes to Pindar a simple poetical picture instead of a commonplace phrase. The preposition or adverb πάρος is generally used of priority in time; it is comparatively rarely employed to express relations of space. Hence a scribe, unfamiliar with the more ancient usage, in deciphering an uncial MS., read ΠΑΡΟCΑΜΑ as παρὰ σάμα (σάμα=σῆμα, *a tomb*), regarding O as a mistake for A. In the case of πέρας ἅμα such a misreading would have been unlikely because πέρας was familiar; in the case of πάρος, it was natural, because πάρος, in the sense of *before* (temporal), yielded no sense. For πάρος *in front of* with genitive, cf. Euripides, *Phoenissae* 1271 αὐτεῖς τῶνδε δωμάτων πάρος, *Orestes* 111 ὦ τέκνον, ἐξελθ', Ἑρμιόνη, δόμων πάρος (note, after a verb of motion), 1216 δόμων πάρος μένουσα, &c. πάρος calls up a picture

of the rich man and the poor man standing together in front of Death.

Bergk's suggestion πόρον is at least more poetical than Wieseler's πέρας; it reminds us of Tennyson's 'dolorous strait'.

20. ἐγὼ δέ κ.τ.λ.] *I trust that the tale of Odysseus surpassed his suffering on account of the sweet minstrelsy of Homer. ἔλπομαι I imagine.* The MSS. have ἢ πάθαν which I retain; Triclinius' πάθεν, with which we should have to understand ἄ, is hardly possible.

22. ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ.] *For his falsehoods, through winged artifice, wear a flower of dignity; but craft deceiveth and leadeth astray by words, and the heart of most men in company together is blind. Φοι, that is Ὀμήρῳ. For ποτανῇ μαχανᾷ of poetry compare Pyth. VIII. 33 ἔτω τεδν χρέος, ὦ παῖ, νεώτατον καλῶν ἐμᾷ ποτανὸν ἀμφὶ μαχανᾷ. Dissen illustrates ἔπεστι by Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1025 ὥς ἡδύ σου τοῖσι λόγοις σῶφρον ἔπεστιν ἄνθος, compare the scholium, τοῖς γὰρ περὶ Ὀδυσσέως κεκρυμμένους σεμνότης τις ἐπὶ ἡνθεί.*

The MSS. read ποτανῇ μαχανᾷ, Hermann inserts τε, Schmid γε. The passage quoted from the Eighth Pythian suggests that ᾠμῇ fell out, and if we write the words in uncials we find this suggestion palaeographically sound.

ΠΟΤΑΝΑΙΜΦΙΜΑΧΑΝΑΙ

The close succession of ΙΑΙ, ΙΑΙ, led by 'paralepsia' to the omission of ΦΙΜ; and thus produced the same effect as the omission of ΜΦΙ. For the scansion of ποτανῇ ἀμφὶ cf. *Ol.* XIII. 99 δὴ ἀμφοτέρωθεν (the certain and universally accepted correction of MSS. δ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν by Boeckh and Hermann). I would write however δὴ ᾠμφοτέρωθεν, regarding it as a case of prodelision.

σεμνὸν ἔπεστί τι· σοφία δὲ κλέπτει παράγοισα μύθοις· τυφλὸν
δ' ἔχει

ἦτορ ὅμιλος ἀνδρῶν ὁ πλείστος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν
ἐτὰν ἀλάθειαν ἰδέμεν, οὐ κεν ὕπλων χολωθεῖς 25
ὁ καρτερὸς Αἴας ἔπαξε διὰ φρενῶν
λευρὸν ξίφος· ὃν κράτιστον Ἀχιλέος ἄτερ μάχα
ξανθῷ Μενέλαῳ δάμαρτα κομίσαι θοαῖς

23. **σοφία**] This *σοφία*, *craft, skill in poetry*, is other than that of the wise men of line 17.

24. **εἰ γὰρ ἦν κ.τ.λ.**] Bergk's brilliant emendation *ἐτὰν*, for *ἐάν* of the MSS., has elucidated this passage. For the rare word *ἐτός* (= *ἔτνμος*, *ἐτήτνμος*) Bergk gives abundant authority. In a scholium on Homer A 133 we read: *ἔστιν ἐτός καὶ σημαίνει τὸν ἀληθῆ, ἐξ οὗ καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ ἔτεός· τοῦτο παρὰ τὸ ἔω τὸ ὑπάρχω, ἐμὶ· ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐτός ὁ ἀληθής*. Joh. Alex. *de acc.* p. 29 ὡς ἐτὰ Τημενιδῶν (so Bergk for Τημενίδος) *χρύσειον γένος*. *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* I. 569 *σαφῶς ἐτά τ' εἰσάκουε καὶ λόγοις πείραν μαθὼν κ.τ.λ.* Compare also Ἑταιφίλα a name of Persephone. Bergk restores the word in two other passages of Pindar; (1) *Nem.* X. 11, *q. v.*; (2) *Isthm.* II. 10 *ῥῆμ' ἀλαθείας <ἐτάς> ἄγχιστα βαῖνον*.

In the present passage *ἐτὰν* has that shade of meaning, which Mr Verrall has shown to be constantly associated with *ἔτνμος* and *ἐτήτνμος* (cf. also below I. 63 *κλέος ἐτήτνμον*), an allusion to the significance of a name. Pindar alludes (1) to the fancied connexion of the name *Aias* with *αιετός*, the bird which Homer called *τελειότατος πετεηνῶν* (Θ 233), and which in Pindar is the auspice of the Aeacids (the family of Aias); this true bird of Ajax is opposed to the 'winged artifice' of Homer the poet of Odysseus. (2) He alludes to the name Ὅμηρος, which according to an Ionic *Vita Homeri* meant *blind* in the Cumaeae dialect, and which he associates with the *ὅμιλος* of *blind heart*. Had it been possible to

descrie the literal truth, it would have been recognized that Ajax was the true eagle and that the adherents of Odysseus were as blind in heart, as his poet in vision.

Render: *For if they could have discerned the truth assured by his very name, the staunch Ajax would not, in wrath for arms, have planted the smooth sword blade in his breast,—Ajax the most valiant in battle, save Achilles only, of those who were borne on swift ships in course direct to the city of Ilus, by conduct of the Zephyr, to recover his wife for fair-haired Menelaus.*

26. **ὁ καρτερός Αἴας**] Cf. ὁ καρτερός Βελλεροφόντας, *Ol.* XIII. 84. Compare the verses on the death of Ajax in *Nemean* VIII. 23 sqq. and *Isthm.* III. 34. Horace calls Ajax *heros ab Achille secundus*, *Sat.* II. 3, 193, a tradition derived from Homer, B 768

ἀνδρῶν δ' αὖ μέγ' ἄριστος ἔην Τελαμώνιος Αἴας

ὄφρ' Ἀχιλεὺς μήνιεν· ὁ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατος ἦεν.

27. **λευρόν**] This adjective is generally used of sand or rocks. See *Introduction*, p. 118.—Ajax fell on his sword, which he fixed in the ground (cf. *Soph. Aj.* 828 *πεπτῶτα τῷδε περὶ νεορράντῳ ξίφει*), and *ἔπαξε* (which means *fixed*, not *plunged*) suggests that the sword did not move.

28. **κομίσαι**] Infinitive of purpose or end. Pindar generally prefers forms in *-ίξαι* (*κομίζαι*) and *-άζαι* from verbs in *-ίξω* and *-άζω*. See above note on II. 24.

ἀν ναυσὶ πόρευσαν εὐθυπνόου Ζεφύροιο πομπαὶ

πρὸς Ἴλου πόλιν. ἀλλὰ κοινὸν γὰρ ἔρχεται ἀντ. β'. 30
κῦμ' Ἀίδα, πέσε δ' ἀδόκητον ἐν καὶ δοκέοντα· τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται,

29. εὐθυπνόου] An adjective coined by Pindar. Its purpose is to contrast the direct journey to Troy with the wanderings of the returning squadrons, referred to below in line 37. For the Zephyr wafting the fleet to Ilion cf. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* l. 674 Ζεφύρον γιγαντος αὔρα.

30. ἀλλὰ κοινόν κ.τ.λ.] *But to all alike cometh the wave of Hades* (to swallow them), *yea it falleth unexpected on one man and also on him who expecteth it.* So Mezger. (For ἐν with the accusative cf. *Pyth.* II. 10 δῖφρον ἐν θ' ἄρματα. For καὶ occupying the same position as τε, Latin *que*, cf. νῦν ἐν καὶ τελευτᾷ *Ol.* VII. 26.) Dissen's rendering *caditque in ingloriosos et gloriosos* assigns an unsupported meaning to ἀδόκητος; and there is the same objection to Mr Fennell's 'ingloriously even on a glorious hero'. Mezger's view is supported by the scholium ἐμπίπτει ὁ θάνατος ὁμοίως καὶ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ νεωτέροις. (This scholium supports the suggestion, put forward in the *Introduction*, touching family sorrows of Thearion.)

31. τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται κ.τ.λ.] *But those have honour, whose fame a god causes to wax fair and fine, even the dead warriors, who come to the great navel of large-bosomed earth.*

The MSS. have τεθνακότων βοαθῶν· τοὶ γὰρ μέγαν ὀμφαλὸν εὐρυκόλπου ἔμολε χθονός, ἐν Πυθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοις κ.τ.λ. The scholiast testifies to the reading μόλον and Didymus read βοαθῶν παρὰ μέγαν κ.τ.λ. Much has been written on these lines and many emendations have been proposed. In the first place, the metre shews that γὰρ is corrupt and that a pyrrhic preceded μέγαν; we can hardly hesitate to accept Didymus' παρὰ, as the corruption is explained by the close simi-

larity between ΠΑΡ and ΓΑΡ. In the next place it is clear that this corruption led to the punctuation after βοαθῶν, which is evidently the antecedent of τοὶ. In the third place, the singular ἔμολε and the strange (I believe, impossible) anticipation of Neoptolemus in this sentence were consequences of the false punctuation. In fact the key to this passage is the recognition that the tale of Neoptolemus cannot begin until l. 34 with ἐν Πυθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοις. Such emendations as μόνος for ἔμολε, γαπέδοις for δαπέδοις, Πυθίοισι τε for Πυθίοισι δέ are quite arbitrary. Mr Arthur Holmes proposed βοαθῶν λόγον.

As to the warriors who come to Delphi, I may translate the note of Dissen: 'At Delphi were celebrated ξένια at which the god was supposed to entertain those heroes who formerly in their lifetime had come to Delphi on various occasions to worship him. There was a solemn procession at which many victims were killed (cf. below l. 46 ἡρώταις πομπαῖς πολυθύτοις)'. Schol. γίνεται ἐν Δελφοῖς ἡρώσι ξένια ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ξένια καλεῖν τοὺς ἥρωας. In Homer βοαθῶς is an epithet of a chariot (hastening to help) *P* 481; cf. *N* 477; and here too it has its proper meaning of *helper*, referring especially to the heroes who aided Menelaus in recovering Helen,—those who hastened to Troy on swift ships, θοαῖς ἀν ναυσὶ (cf. βοα-θῶν).

The epithet ἄβρὸν is applied to glory won in war or games; cf. κῦδος ἄβρὸν *Isthm.* I. 50 and *Ol.* V. 7. Observe that τιμὰ is represented as superior to λόγος; it is conferred by a god, not by a poet ('λόγον habet Ulysses at non τιμάν', Dissen).

ὦν θεὸς ἄβρὸν αὔξει λόγον τεθνακότων,
 βοαθῶν, τοὶ παρὰ μέγαν ὀμφαλὸν εὐρυκόλπου
 μολῶν χθονός.— ἐν Πυθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοις
 κείται Πριάμου πόλιν Νεοπτόλεμος ἐπεὶ πρᾶθεν, 35
 τᾷ καὶ Δαναοὶ πόνησαν· ὁ δ' ἀποπλέων
 Σκύρου μὲν ἄμαρτεν, ἴκοντο δ' εἰς Ἐφύραν πλαγέντες.

Μολοσσία δ' ἐμβασίλευεν ὀλίγον 36
 χρόνον· ἀτὰρ γένος αἰεὶ φέρειν 37 ἐπ. β'.

33. εὐρυκόλπου] Pindaric coinage. Cf. εὐρύστερνος of Γαῖα in Hesiod, *Theogony*, 117.

34. ἐν Πυθίοισι κ.τ.λ.] *But Neoptolemus lieth in hallowed Pythian ground, after sacking the city of Priam, where also the Danaï toiled. But he, sailing homeward, missed Scyros, and they came to Ephyra, driven from their course.*

The place of Neoptolemus' burial is mentioned below l. 44—an ancient grove close to the temple. δάπεδον is the ground of the ἄλσος.—Dissen explains the consecution κείται ἐπεὶ πρᾶθεν thus: 'nunc opus fuit hac laude [Troiae excidium] ad dignitatem et praestantiam herois declarandam, tantopere fato honorati'.

37. Σκύρου μὲν] Cf. l. 326. Ephyra, a town in Epirus, capital of Thesprotia; see Strabo vii. 324: ὑπέρεκείται τούτου τοῦ κόλπου Κίχυρος, ἢ πρότερον Ἐφύρα, πόλις Θεσπρωτῶν. See *Introduction*, p. 119.

πλαγέντες] The MSS. give πλαγχθέντες (and πλαχθέντες). Boeckh, in order to rectify the metre, transposed ἴκοντο and πλαγχθέντες (augmented ἴκοντο becoming unaugmented ἴκοντο), but this is 'robbing Peter for the benefit of Paul', as the final syllable of ἄμαρτεν is thereby lengthened. In any case the hypothesis of a transposition, when there is no special reason, is improbable and uncritical. Bergk's πλάναισιν cannot be accepted, for there is no reason why it should have been tampered with. I have

adopted my own conjecture πλαγέντες, an unfamiliar second aorist of πλάζω, which was naturally changed in the process of transcription to the familiar first aorist πλαγχθέντες. In regard to this form it is to be observed that, while the second aorist passive of πλῆσσω is invariably ἐπλήγην, its compounds ἐκπλήσσω and καταπλήσσω have ἐξεπλάγην and κατεπλάγην in Attic (ἐξεπλήγην and κατεπλήγην in older Greek). Why these double forms? Had πλῆσσω two second aorists ἐπλήγην and ἐπλάγην, of which the latter became wholly obsolete in its simple verb? But ἐπλήγην can hardly be a 'new formation', for it is the form in older literature, and -επλάγην is first found in Attic writers. I believe that ἐπλάγην is the second aorist of πλάζω (a verb, indeed, etymologically related to πλῆσσω), and that it contaminated the Attic conjugation of ἐκπλήττω, owing to the connexion between the meanings of ἐκπλήττεσθαι, to be driven out of one's senses (cf. πλάγιος), and of πλάζεσθαι, to be driven out of one's course. The difference between ἐπλάγην and ἐπλάγχθην (which has perhaps been intruded into the place of ἐπλάγην in other passages also) is that the former has a passive, the latter a middle meaning.

38. Μολοσσία] There was an Aeaclid dynasty in Molossia; Neoptolemus was succeeded by his son Molossus.—ἐμβασιλεύω is a Homeric compound.

39. ἀτὰρ γένος κ.τ.λ.] *But his race after him for ever had this prerogative*

τοῦτό Φοι γέρας. ὄχετο δὲ πρὸς θεόν, 40
κτέαν' ἄγων Τροϊάθεν ἀκροθινίων.
ἵνα κρεῶν νιν ὑπὲρ μάχας ἔλασεν ἀντιτυχόντ' ἀνὴρ μαχαίρα.

βάρυνθεν δὲ περισσὰ Δελφοὶ ξεναγέται. στρ. γ'.
ἀλλὰ τὸ μόρσιμον ἀπέδωκεν· ἐχρῆν δέ τιν' ἔνδον ἄλσει παλαιτάτῳ
Αἰακιδᾶν κρεόντων τῷλοιπὸν ἔμμεναι 45
θεοῦ παρ' εὐτειχέα δόμον, ἡρώταις δὲ πομπαῖς
θεμισκόπον οἰκεῖν ἐόντα πολυθύτοις.
εὐώνυμον ἐς δίκαν, τρία Φέπεα διαρκέσει·

(that is, his descendants were kings in Molossia). ἀτάρ=autem, φέρεν=habebat, Φοι Dat. commodi.—This remark is not without its special purpose; see below, l. 100.

41. κτέαν' ἄγων κ.τ.λ.] *Taking with him rich first-fruits of the booty won from Troy, as an offering to Apollo.*

42. ἵνα κρεῶν κ.τ.λ.] *Where (at Delphi) he engaged by chance in a combat touching flesh-offerings and was smitten by a man with a knife.* The man who slew Neoptolemus was Machaereus, a Delphic priest.—The anastrophe of ὑπὲρ, separated by νιν from its case, is unusual, perhaps unparalleled (ποτὶ σὲ πάντα λόγον in *Pyth.* II. 66 is the extremely doubtful reading of Boeckh). With μάχας ἀντιτυχόντ' cf. ἀντιάσαι πολέμοιο. By ἀντιτυχόντα, instead of ἀντιάσαντα, Pindar expresses that the conflict was casual, not aforethought.

Various traditions concerning Neoptolemus' visit to Delphi are given in the scholia, but need not be quoted here.

43. βάρυνθεν δὲ κ.τ.λ.] *And the hospitable Delphians were vexed exceedingly.* βάρυνθεν for ἐβαρύνθησαν. ξεναγέται occurs only here.

44. ἀλλά κ.τ.λ.] *He (Neoptolemus) however paid the debt of fate. But meet it was that there should be one of the Aeacid kings in the precincts of the grove most ancient, hard by the god's fair-walled house, and should dwell there to preside at*

the processions of heroes, honoured with many sacrifices, for enforcement of auspicious guest-right.

For ἔνδον ἄλσει cf. ἔνδον τέγει *Nem.* III. 54.—θεμισκόπον does not occur elsewhere, but may be compared to another Pindaric compound θεμισκρέων, *Pyth.* v. 29. Neoptolemus presides at the ξένια, to enforce the laws of guest-right, which Pindar, alluding to the Euxenid name, calls εὐώνυμος δίκαι: see below l. 85 εὐωνύμῳ πάτρα.—Various views have been held regarding the punctuation of ll. 47, 48. Some place a full stop at πολυθύτοις, reading l. 48 as one sentence, but this does not yield a fair sense. Others punctuate at εὐώνυμον. The recognition of the true meaning of εὐώνυμος δίκαι decides for Hermann's punctuation, which I have followed.—Pausanias (x. 24. 5) mentions the tomb of Neoptolemus, and adds καὶ οἱ κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν οἱ Δελφοί.

48. τρία κ.τ.λ.] *Three words will suffice; no false loon is the witness; he (Neoptolemus) presideth over doughty deeds.* ψεῦδης (not found elsewhere) is contemptuous, like γάστρις. As a rare word it is designed to attract attention and to suggest that Pindar does not imitate the Homeric ψεύδεσι of line 22.—The idea of Hermann (adopted by Mezger) that the following words Αἰγινα—ἐκγόνων depend on ἐργμασιν, and that the new sentence begins at θρασύ is certainly wrong. Neoptolemus is an ἐπιστάτης of

οὐ ψεύδεις ὁ μάρτυς· ἔργμασιν ἐπιστατεῖ.

Αἴγινα, τεῶν Διὸς τ' ἐκγόνων θρασύ μοι τόδ' εἰπεῖν

50

φαενναῖς ἀρεταῖς ὁδὸν κυρίαν λόγων

ἀντ. γ'.

οἴκοθεν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνάπαυσις ἐν παντὶ γλυκεῖα Φέρῃ· κόρον
δ' ἔχει

καὶ μέλι καὶ τὰ τέρπν' ἄνθε' Ἀφροδίσια.

φυᾷ δ' ἕκαστος διαφέρομεν βιοτὰν λαχόντες,

ὁ μὲν τά, τὰ δ' ἄλλοι· τυχεῖν δ' ἔν' ἀδύνατον

55

εὐδαιμονίαν ἅπασαν ἀνελόμενον· οὐκ ἔχω

εἰπεῖν, τίνι τοῦτο Μοῖρα τέλος ἔμπεδον

ὥρεξε. Θεαρίων, τὴν δ' εἰκότα καιρὸν ὄλβου

the games, not a mere *προστάτης* or special *defensor* in the interests of Aeginetans. *ἔργμασιν* means the exploits of all competitors in the games celebrated at the Delphic *xenia*. Those who are familiar with the manner of Pindar will recognise, I believe, that *Αἴγινα* begins a new sentence.

50. *Αἴγινα* κ.τ.λ.] *I am emboldened* (θρασύ μοι τόδε = ἔστι μοι τόδε τὸ θάρσος), *O Aegina, to proclaim for the bright deeds of bravery of the children of thee and Zeus a stablished highroad of praises leading from their home.* ἀρεταῖς is Dative, as Dissen takes it, not instrumental.—Mr Fennell is right in comparing *κυρίαν ὁδὸν* with ὁδὸν ἀμαξιτόν (*Ant.* vi. 53), but the former is somewhat stronger. The idea is that the deeds of the Acacids are a highroad in the land of Greek myth.

52. *ἀλλὰ γάρ* κ.τ.λ.] *But I will not, for in every work rest is sweet; yea, honey can fall and the delicious flowers of Aphrodite's garden.* For the significance of these words see *Introduction*; also above l. 11 (μελίφρον') and below l. 74.—Mr Fennell reads *τερπνανθέα*, a compound which, had it been found in the MSS., we should be strongly tempted to emend. He does not translate his reading, but I suppose that it means 'the uses of Aphrodite, whose flower is delight'. The text is quite sound, the

grammar being τὰ τέρπν' ἄνθεα, ἄνθε' Ἀφροδίσια. That the pleasures of food and love have a limit is a commonplace; the proverb is introduced here in words which fit it for a figurative application.

54. *φυᾷ δ' ἕκαστος* κ.τ.λ.] *By our individual natures we differ and the gifts of life are variously allotted to men; but that one man should win the prize of happiness complete is impossible; I cannot say to whom Fate hath proffered this consummate gift as a sure possession.*

Pindar returns here to the reflexions of ll. 5—6.—The singular number of *βιοτὰν* is due to *ἕκαστος*. *βιοτά* itself is a collective word which includes many experiences; hence the plural τὰ in line 55—the things which make up the individual's *βιοτά*. *ἀνελέσθαι* is often found in Herodotus of winning victories. *ἅπαν* has its strict force, *in all its fulness*. For *Μοῖρα* compare l. 1; for *ἔμπεδον* (predicate extended) see l. 98. Compare *Introduction*, p. 125.

A passage in the Third Pythian, l. 86 sqq. illustrates Pindar's thought:

αἰὼν δ' ἀσφαλής
οὐκ ἔγεντ' οὐτ' Αἰακίδα παρὰ Πηλεῖ
οὔτε παρ' ἀντιθέῳ Κάδμω· λέγονται
μὰν βροτῶν

ὄλβον ὑπέρτατον οἱ σchein, οἷτε κ.τ.λ.

58. *Θεαρίων* κ.τ.λ.] *But to thee, O Thearion, she gives a meet measure of*

δίδωσι, τόλμαν τε καλῶν ἀρομένῳ ἐπ. γ'.
 σύνεσιν οὐκ ἀποβλάπτει φρενῶν. 60
 ξεινός εἰμι· σκοτεινὸν ἀπέχων ψόγον,
 ὕδατος ὥτε ῥοὰς φίλον ἐς ἄνδρ' ἄγων
 κλέος ἐτήτυμον αἰνέσω· ποτίφορος δ' ἀγαθοῖσι μισθὸς οὗτος.

ἔων δ' ἐγγὺς Ἀχαιὸς οὐ μέμψεται μ' ἀνὴρ στρ. δ'.

weal, and, having endued thee with a spirit fain of fair adventures, she perverts not the understanding from thy breast.

καίρος] *due measure* (τὸ μέσον), not necessarily of time. Christ's κλᾶρον is not needed. Compare *Pyth.* 1. 56 οὕτω δ' Ἰέρωνι θεὸς ὀρθωτὴρ πέλοι... ὧν ἔραται καίρον διδούς (*gratifying his desires in due measure*). τόλμαν is the temper which undertakes courageous deeds. ἀποβλάπτει means *disables and expels from*, φρενῶν depending on ἀπό. The expression corresponds to βλάβεν in l. 18 (the second verse of the first epode); Thearion was one of the wise men who gauge the wind of the third day. See *Introduction*.

61. ξεινός εἰμι κ.τ.λ.] *I am your guest-friend. Averting the dark shadow of blame, as by streams of water directed upon my friend, will I sing of a glory true to the letter. This is a meed that cometh to good men.* The meaning of κλέος ἐτήτυμον is evident from the atmosphere of its environment (if I may be allowed the expression);—ξεινός in l. 61, προξενία in l. 65 shew that the κλέος *literally true* is the name of Sogenes' clan, Εὐξενίδαι (see below l. 70) which is called a εὐώνυμος πάτρα in l. 85. For the force of ἐτήτυμον, as shown by Mr Verrall for Aeschylus, see above, note on l. 25.

The streams of water signify neither the abundance nor the gratefulness of the praise as Dissen and Mezger respectively hold. The surface of the water is to be a clear reflector of the fame of the Euxenidae, which will thus shine through the darkness. The similar collocation of ῥοαῖσι and σκότον in ll.

12, 13 proves this beyond all doubt.—The circumstance, that the last syllable of εἰμι would naturally be lengthened before σκ while the metre requires its brevity, has caused the suspicion of commentators to fall upon σκοτεινόν. It is possible that it may be a gloss on some rarer word of identical meaning; but it would be hazardous to emend. πετραίη τε σκική in Hesiod, *Works and Days*, l. 589 may be quoted in defence of the metrical liberty, and σκότον in l. 13 distinctly supports σκοτεινόν. We certainly cannot accept Bergk's κελαινόν or ἐρεβεννόν.

64. ἔων δ' ἐγγύς κ.τ.λ.] *But if an Achaean man be near, who dwelleth on the Ionian sea, he will not blame me; I trust in my office of proxenos.* In the streets of Aegina there were many foreigners, and Pindar might count on the possibility of an Epirot (Molossian) being actually there when the ode was sung. A man from Epirus would be jealous for the honour of Neoptolemus (see below ll. 102 sqq.). Mr Arthur Holmes, I believe, was the first to point out the meaning of Ἀχαιὸς ἀνὴρ.—For ὑπέρ compare the passage of Strabo quoted above on l. 37, and *ib.* 326 τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου, also Thucydides, 1. 46 ἔστι δὲ λιμὴν καὶ πόλις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κείμεν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης (quoted by Dissen). Mr Holmes (*The Nemean Odes of Pindar with special reference to Nem. VII.*) has this note on ὑπέρ: 'If ὑπέρ be really to περί what the highest vertical point of a curve would be to the curve itself, what preposition could more exactly describe the position of Kichyros, the city of Thesprotia, here

Ἰονίας ὑπὲρ ἀλὸς οἰκέων· προξενία πέποιθ',* ἔν τε δαμόταις 65
 ὄμματι δέρκομαι λαμπρόν, οὐχ ὑπερβαλόν,
 βίαια πάντ' ἐκ ποδὸς ἐρύσαις, ὃ δὲ λοιπὸς εὐφρων
 ποτὶ χρόνος ἔρποι. μαθὼν δέ τις ἀνερεῖ,

supposed to be mentioned? We know from Strabo that Kichyros stood upon a cliff; the sloping of the coast might well represent the higher portion of the curve whose lower portion would be the reflection in the waters'.—The MSS. have καὶ προξενία, a long syllable too much for the metre. Hermann omits καὶ, while Mommsen reads καὶ ξενία. The omission of καὶ is clearly a gain for the structure and style; and I think καὶ can be explained as a gloss on τε: ἔν τε δαμόταις = καὶ ἐν δαμόταις.—This passage shews that Pindar was *proxenos* for the Epirots. Dissen observes 'suspicio Pindarum hospitium gratuita habuisse per Graeciam qualia Amphictyones alio tempore decrevere Polygnoto; cf. Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 2, 33'. But this passage does not prove the suspicion.

From a scholium on l. 64 we learn the fact that offence was given to the Aeginetans by a Paean of Pindar: καθόλου γὰρ ἀπολογεῖσθαι βούλεται περὶ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου θανάτου πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ᾗτιψόντο τὸν Πίνδαρον ὅτι γράφων Δελφοῖς τὸν Παιᾶνα ἔφη· ἀμφιπόλοισι μαρνάμενον μοιριᾶν περὶ τιμᾶν ἀπολωλέναι.

65. ἔν τε δαμόταις κ.τ.λ.] *And amongst my fellow citizens my glance is clear, for I have not broken bounds and have removed all violent uses from before my feet; but may the time to come draw nigh with kindly purpose.* The δαμόται are the Thebans as opposed to ξένοι. With ὄμματι κ.τ.λ. cf. *Nem.* x. 40 μὴ κρύπτειν φάος ὀμμάτων, where the connexion however is very different. λαμπρόν δέρκεσθαι is the clear gaze of a free soul. ὑπερβαλόν = ὑπερβαλὼν μέτρον, *excedens modum* (Dissen). Donaldson appropriately cites a gloss of Hesychius, ὑπερ-

βολία· κόρος, ὕβρις.—ἐρύσαις ἐκ ποδὸς refers to dragging away impediments from one's path. ποτὶ—ἔρποι, *tnesis*.

68. μαθὼν δέ κ.τ.λ.] *But whoso understandeth me will proclaim, whether I come with the discords of crooked parley on my lips.*

ἀνερεῖ] The MSS. have ἂν ἐρεῖ which is supposed to be an instance of the Homeric construction of ἂν with the future indicative. But 1) this construction is extremely doubtful, out of Homer. The few instances cited from Attic prose writers are clearly due to errors in the MSS. The passage in Euripides' *Electra*, l. 484 (κἂν ἔρ' ἔτι φόνιον ὄψομαι αἷμα) is obviously corrupt (see Weil's note). (2) If we allow that Pindar may, in this single passage, have adopted this epic construction, it is hard to see what force the words ἂν ἐρεῖ can possibly have. (3) Even without ἂν, ἐρεῖ would be intolerably weak, and the statement pointless. (4) As the text stands this sentence is isolated; some connexion with what follows seems required.—It is hardly necessary to mention the suggestion that ἂν should be taken with μαθὼν.

The difficulty has arisen from a slight error of a copyist who divided ἀνερεῖ into two words, just as, below l. 89, he divided ἀνέχοι into ἂν ἔχοι (see note). In *Pyth.* i. 32 (and x. 8) we find ἀνείπιτε, aorist of ἀναγορεύω, used of the herald proclaiming the victor in a contest. ἀνερεῖ, the future, has a similar force here; for these words (μαθὼν κ.τ.λ.) are closely connected with the following lines. When the opponent of Sogenes overstepped the line marking the beginning of the spear-throw (see next note), the question arose whether he was disqualified; and when the judges gave it against him, their judgment must

εἰ παρ μέλος ἔρχομαι ψάγιον ὄαρρον ἐννέπων.

Εὐξενίδα πάτραθε Σώγηνες, ὑπομνύω

2

70

have been made known to the spectators by a κῆρυξ. Pindar applies this incident to his own case (see *Introduction*), and ἀνερεῖ introduces the metaphor of the following lines. μαθὼν δέ τις ἀνερεῖ means *when the truth is ascertained, proclamation will be made; whether* etc. This restitution can hardly be called a change. It removes all difficulties of construction, and restores the continuity of thought.

For παρ μέλος cf. *Ol.* ix. 39 τὸ καυχᾶσθαι παρὰ καιρὸν μανίαισιν ὑποκρέκει, *unseasonable vaunting sounds a jarring chord of madness*.—Hesychius gives the gloss ψάγιον * πλάγιον, λοξὸν, ἐπικεκλιμένον. It is only to be wondered that B has preserved the right word, uncorrupted. Schneider's ψόγιον and Ahrens' ψελλόν are worthy of Byzantine scribes.

70. Εὐξενίδα κ.τ.λ.] *Sogenes, of Euxenid clan, I swear that I overstepped not the line when I propelled my swift tongue like a bronze-tipped spear, which released thy neck and thews from the sweat of the wrestling-bouts, ere thy body met the rays of the burning sun.*

The MSS. have ἀπομνύω, which would mean, *I swear that I propelled not*. With Bergk I follow the reading of the scholiast ὑπομνύω. μὴ refers only to προβάς 'without having overstepped'. τέρμα is the line which must not be overstepped by the throwers. The mere use of προβαίνω ('step in front of') excludes the old idea that τέρμα meant 'the limit of the throw'; in such a sense, προβάς assuredly could not take the place of ὑπερβαλὼν.

In this difficult passage German criticism has conspicuously failed, and more light has been thrown on the problem of the pentathlon by the researches of Prof. Gardner, Mr Fennell and Dr Waldstein than by the learning of Hermann, Dissen and Dr Pinder. There can be no doubt that Pindar's words contain an allusion

to some circumstance connected with Sogenes' victory, and there might seem to be a choice between two alternatives.

(1) Sogenes' victory in the spearthrowing was decisive for his victory in the pentathlon, and the wrestling test was unnecessary. The order of the five events in the pentathlon was as follows: ἄλμα, ἄκων, δίσκος, δρόμος, πάλη (*leaping, spear-throwing, disc-hurling, running, wrestling*). The order ἄκων, δίσκος is generally reversed, but Dr Waldstein's observation that 'the Diskos as compared with the Akontismos was βαρὺς, while the Akontismos was light and required above all steadiness of eye and arm' (apud Fennell, *Nemean and Isthmian Odes*, p. xx) is decisive for the priority of the spearthrowing. If one competitor won three of the first four events, he was declared victor and no wrestling contest took place (a case of τριαγμός, or ἀποτριάξαι). This might have been achieved by Sogenes. If so, the question arises, why does Pindar specially mention the spear-throw, the second event, as decisive? This difficulty might be removed by the supposition that Sogenes' strong points were leaping and running, and that his victory in spearthrowing was an unexpected stroke of good fortune. This good fortune might have been due to the circumstance that a superior opponent overstepped the line, and thus τέρμα προβάς would have a special point.

Against this view the word ἐξέπεμψεν seems to me to be decisive. ἐκπέμπω is by no means a synonym of ἐκλύω. Such a phrase as ἐκπέμπειν κακοῦ could not be used if the evil had never existed; and in the same way ἐκπέμπειν παλαισμάτων would be a false phrase if no wrestling had taken place. This consideration is fatal also to the theory of Mr Fennell, (who takes ὅς ἐξέπεμψεν "which is wont

μη τέρμα προβάς ἄκονθ' ὅτε χαλκοπάραον ὄρσαι

θοάν γλῶσσαν, ὃς ἔκ σ' ἔπεμψεν παλαισμάτων ἀντ. δ'.
 αὐχένα καὶ σθένος ἀδίδαντον, αἶθωνι πρὶν ἀελίῳ γυῖον ἐμπροσθεῖν.
 εἰ πόνος ἦν, τὸ τερπνὸν πλέον πεδέρχεται.
 ἔα με· νικῶντί γε χάριν, εἴ τι πέραν ἀερθεῖς 75
 ἀνέκραγον, οὐ τραχὺς εἰμι καταθέμεν.
 εἶρειν στεφάνους ἐλαφρόν. ἀναβάλεο. Μοῖσά τοι
 κολλᾷ χρυσὸν ἔν τε λευκὸν ἐλέφανθ' ἀμᾶ

to dismiss") that Sogenes 'discharged his spear in the pentathlon with his foot advanced beyond the line, which marked the beginning of the throw, and so having failed to gain the third victory was obliged to go on to the wrestling'. This view moreover attributes to Pindar the statement, 'I have not overstepped the mark, as you did'. But though I am unable to accept Mr Fennell's interpretation of this passage, I must gratefully acknowledge the instruction that I have derived from his learned essay on the Pentathlon.

(2) The expression ἐξέπεμψεν παλαισμάτων clearly implies that Sogenes wrestled, but a fortunate accident released him from the labour betimes; and the fact that he wrestled is confirmed (as Mr Fennell points out) by εἰ πόνος ἦν l. 74. The fortunate accident was of course connected with the spear-throwing. An opponent of Sogenes transgressed the line behind which he should have stood and was disqualified for an event, in which perhaps he hoped to win. He consequently retired from the competition, and Sogenes was released from the necessity of contending with an additional adversary, probably a dangerous adversary, in the wrestling. This view is held by Bergk, and it demands a slight alteration in the reading of the mss. The second personal pronoun σε is required after ἐξέπεμψεν, and so Bergk reads ὃ σ' for ὃς, translating *id quod te discedere fecit*. But ὃ would almost necessarily mean τὸ

ἄκοντα ὄρσαι, not τὸ τέρμα προβῆναι. δς is right; the spear, that is the spear-throwing (owing to the accident which befel his rival), delivered him from one wrestler. The mistake lies in ἐξέπεμψεν, a most natural and simple corruption of ἔκ σ' ἔπεμψεν, from which in pronunciation it can have but very slightly, if at all, deviated.

71. χαλκοπάραον] The expression χαλκοπάραον ἄκοντα occurs in *Pylh.* i. 44. In Homer the epithet is only used of helmets. θοάν is used on account of the metaphor; cf. *Nem.* x. 69 ἄκοντι θοῶ. For ὄρσαι with γλῶσσαν, cf. *Ol.* XIII. 12 τόλμα τέ μοι εὐθεῖα γλῶσσαν ὀρνύει λέγειν.

73. ἀδίδαντον] That is, ἀνιδρωτί.

74. εἰ πόμος ἦν κ.τ.λ.] *If toil there was, greater is the delight that followeth.* τερπνὸν answers to τερπνα in l. 53 (see *Introduction*).

75. ἔα με κ.τ.λ.] *Let me be. If, lifted too high, I uttered a loud scream, to a victor certainly my art is not rough in paying her gracious debt. It is a light thing to twine garlands. Sound a loud prelude; surely, the Muse is welding together gold and white ivory and the delicate flower which she has filched from the foam of the sea.* ἔα με implies, 'I will not deceive or disappoint you'. For ἀνέκραγον cp. ξ 467.

77. ἀναβάλεο] addressed by the poet to himself. Schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνακροῦν καὶ ἄρχου τι λέγειν ἐλαφρῶς περὶ τῶν στεφάνων.

78. χρῦσόν] In no other passage in classical Greek poetry, as far as I know,

καὶ λείριον ἄνθεμον ποντίας ὑφελοῖς' ἔέρσας.

Διὸς δὲ μεμναμένος ἀμφὶ Νεμέα
πολύφατον θρόον ὕμνων δόνει
ἀσυχᾷ. βασιλῆα δὲ θεῶν πρέπει
δάπεδον ἂν τόδε γαρνέμεν ἀμέρα
ὅπρ'· λέγουσι γὰρ Λιακόν νιν ὑπὸ ματροδόκοις γοναῖς φυτεῦσαι,
ἐτᾷ μὲν πολίαρχον εὐωνύμῳ πάτρα, στρ. ε'. 85

is the first syllable of χρυσός shortened. The υ of χρύσεος, on the other hand, may be regarded as common; in Pindar it is found short ten times (e.g. *Nem.* v. 7).

79. λείριον ἄνθεμον] white coral, 'the foam-flower'. λείριον is adjectival (=λείρινος), and while it suggests the lily means slender or fine. Compare χρῶα λειριόεντα *delicate skin*, N 830; ὅπα λειριόεσσαν, of the thin small voice of grasshoppers, I' 52. Compare also Hesychius λειρώς· ὁ ἰσχνὸς καὶ ὠχρὸς, and λειριόεντα· ἀπαλά, λειόιον γὰρ τὸ ἄνθος· διὰ [read ἄνθος διὰ] τὴν λειότητα...

This *foam-flower* corresponds to the ἄνθεα Ἀφροδίσια, *flowers of the foam-born queen*, of line 53 (see *Introduction*).

80. Διὸς δέ κ.τ.λ.] Zeus is mentioned because he was celebrated by the Nemean games (ἀμφί, in connexion with, in regard to). δονεῖν, *to shake or set in motion* occurs in *Pyth.* I. 44 ἄκοντα παλάμῃ δονέων (*making the spear vibrate*); *Pyth.* VI. 36 of a soul shaken by passion, δονηθεῖσα φρήν (cf. *ib.* IV. 219). In *Pyth.* X. 39 we find it used of lyres and flutes:

παντᾷ δὲ χοροὶ παρθένων

λυρᾶν τε βοαὶ καναχαί τ' αὐλῶν δονέον-
ται

which we might render, *all the air is shaken by dances of maidens and loud notes of lyres and ringing music of flutes*. Disson's interpretation of δόνει in the passage before us, as a metaphor from spear-hurling, can hardly be accepted, especially in view of the passage cited from the Tenth Pythian. We may translate:

In praise of Zeus, whom Nemea calls to mind, let the sounds of many voices vibrate to low music. Meet is it on this floor with utterance soft to sing the king of the gods.

πολύφατος θρόος] is the sound of voices singing in harmony. ἀσυχᾷ and ἀμέρα ὅπρ' are expressions appropriate to the music of the lyre, as distinguished from the music of the flute.

83. δάπεδον] The floor of the Aeaceum, where the victory of Sogenes was celebrated. This is clear from τόδε; the connexion of thought being that as Zeus is the father of Aeacus, it is meet to celebrate him in the house of his son.

84. ματροδόκοις] ματρόδοκος (accent so) is not found elsewhere. ὑπὸ, *by virtue of*; compare *Isth.* v. 44 εὐχαῖς ὑπὸ θεοπεσίαις. νιν is the subject of φυτεῦσαι.

85. ἐτᾷ μὲν κ.τ.λ.] *A prince for a family of truly auspicious name* (lit. *a ruler of their city for a true fair-named clan*). Aeacus was the first ἀρχός of the polis to which the Euxenidae belonged. The MSS. have ἐμᾷ which yields no sense. Pauw proposed τεᾷ, but the following clause excludes the second person here. Hermann's ἐᾷ has found more supporters; but there are two objections to it. (1) ἐᾷ was not likely to become ἐμᾷ; (2) the remark that Aeacus was a πολίαρχος for his own πάτρα, the Aeacids, is weak and irrelevant. He was more than πολίαρχος for the Aeacids, he was their πρόγονος; there is some meaning in calling him a πολίαρχος for other families of Aegina. It is clear that the πάτρα meant is that of

Ἡράκλεες, σέο δὲ προπρεῶνα μὲν ξεῖνον ἀδελφεόν τ'. εἰ δὲ
γεύεται

ἄνδρὸς ἀνὴρ τι, φαῖμέν κε γείτον' ἔμμεναι
νόῳ φιλήσαντ' ἀπενεῖ γείτονι χάρμα πάντων
ἐπάξιον· εἰ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ θεὸς ἀνέχοι,
ἐν τίν κ' ἐθέλοι, Γίγαντας ὃς ἐδάμασας, εὐτυχῶς
ναίειν πατρὶ Σωγένης ἀταλὸν ἀμφέπων
θυμὸν προγόνων εὐκτῆμονα ζαθέαν ἀγυιάν.

90

ἐπεὶ τετραόροισιν ὦθ' ἀρμάτων ζυγοῖς

ἀντ. ε'.

the Euxenids; and a connexion between the Euxenids and Aeacus is a necessary link in Pindar's argument. (a) Heracles is the ξείνος of Aeacus; (b) Aeacus is the prince of the city to which the Euxenids belong; hence (c) Heracles may be expected to interest himself in the Euxenids. Line 85 expresses (b). This interpretation is confirmed by the adjective εὐώνυμος, which here refers to the name Εὐξενίδα, just as in l. 48 it referred to the ξένια at Delphi. Heracles and the Euxenids are conceived to be joined by the bond of ξενία, even as the Delphians and Neoptolemus. (See *Introduction*.)

The word, then, replaced by ἐμᾶ must be a word likely to be corrupted and must be compatible with the reference of πατρᾷ to the clan of Sogenes. ἐτᾶ (see above, note on l. 25) satisfies these conditions perfectly. It emphasises the reference in εὐωνύμφ, — a clan whose actual name is auspicious — and answers to ἐτήτυμον κλέος in l. 63.

86. Ἡράκλεες κ.τ.λ.] *Thy own dear guest-friend and brother, O Heracles. προπρεῶνα ξεῖνον* corresponds to προξενία (same position in line) l. 65. προπρεῶν, a word only found here (perhaps connected with *proprius*; compare ὁπέων: *socius*).

εἰ δὲ γεύεται κ.τ.λ.] *But if a man hath any fruition of man, we should say that a neighbour is to his neighbour a priceless joy, if he loved him with steadfast heart.*

γεύεται would be in prose ἀπολαύει. Pindar is thinking of Hesiod, *Works and Days*, l. 344

πῆμα κακὸς γείτων, ὅσσον τ' ἀγαθὸς μέγ' ὀνειαρ,

ἔμμορέ τοι τιμῆς ὅστ' ἔμμορε γείτονος ἔσθλοῦ.

Alcman, fr. 50 (Bergk. *P. L. G.*) μέγα γείτονι γείτων. For νόῳ ἀπενεῖ cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* l. 660. — For other reminiscences of Hesiod cp. above VI. 3; note on IV. 59; *Isth.* v. 66 Λάμπων δὲ μελέταν ἐργοῖς ὁπάζων Ἡσιόδου μάλα τιμᾷ τοῦτ' ἔπος.

89. εἰ δ' αὐτό κ.τ.λ.] *But if a god also should uphold this truth* (principle), *or be true to this satv.* καὶ θεὸς opposed to ἀνὴρ. αὐτό is the sentiment of the preceding statement. ἀνέχοι, is a certain restoration of Thiersch for ἀνέχοι. Bergk however reads ἀλέγοι.

90. ἐν τίν κ' ἐθέλοι κ.τ.λ.] *Resting on thee, who didst subdue the Giants, Sogenes were fain to dwell happily in the wealthy, hallowed street of his ancestors, fostering a spirit of devotion to his sire.*

Observe that πατρὶ Σωγένης responds to πάτραθε Σώγενης in l. 70; and that ἀμφέπων θυμὸν repeats θυμὸν ἀμφέπειν of l. 10. For the significance, see *Introduction*, pp. 119 and 121.

93. ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ.] This passage has usually been misinterpreted. (1) Dissen translates, *quum quadrigalibus velut currum in jugis domum habeat inter delubra tua ab utroque latere.* This no doubt is

ἐν τεμένεσσι δόμον ἔχει τεοῖς, ἀμφοτέρας ἰὼν χειρός. ὦ μάκαρ,
 τὴν δ' ἐπέοικεν Ἥρας πόσιν τε πειθέμεν 95
 κόραν τε γλανκώπιδα—δύνασαι δὲ—βροτοῖσιν ἀλκὰν
 ἀμαχανιᾶν δυσβάτων θαμὰ διδόμεν.
 εἰ γάρ σφισιν ἐμπεδοσθενέα βίοτον ἀρμόσαις
 ἥβα λιπαρῷ τε γήραϊ διαπλέκοις
 εὐδαίμον' ἐόντα, παίδων δὲ παῖδες ἔχοιεν αἰεὶ 100

the general meaning; but he is wrong in assuming that the reference is to waggons *with two yokes*. (2) As there was only one yoke in the fourhomed chariot, Mr Fennell attributes to ζυγοῖς the meaning of ζύγιοι, the two middle horses harnessed to the yoke; compare Pollux, I. 141 ὧν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ ζυγῷ ζύγιοι, οἱ δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν παρήγοροι. But this use of ζυγά has no authority. Nor does Euripides' phrase τετράζυξ ὄχος (*a car harnessed to four horses*) prove 'that ζυγά was used catachrestically for horses' here, or even that it might be so used. Mr Fennell supposes that the house of Sogenes is compared to the ἄρμα, and the temples of Heracles to the two yoke-horses. The preposition ἐν does not suit Mr Fennell's theory, as he confesses himself. Mezerger's note on this passage is vague, but his view seems to be similar.

The passage admits of a simple interpretation, if we hold fast to Pindar's language. ζυγόν must mean *yoke* and ἐν implies the very closest proximity. The relation of Sogenes' house to the temples is compared to that of a chariot-pole to the two arms of the yoke, which is attached to its extremity. The plural ζυγοῖς is used to suggest the apparent plurality of the yoke, its two arms, and corresponds to τεμένη. We may translate: *For he hath his house at the precincts of thy temples, which face him, like the yoke-arms of a fourhomed chariot, on either hand as he goeth forth.*

94. ὦ μάκαρ κ.τ.λ.] *But thee, O blessed lord, it bescemeth to persuade both the spouse of Hera and the owl-eyed maid*

—thou canst, as thou wilt,—to bestow full often upon mortals mighty help against difficult distresses. Heracles is invoked in his capacity of ἀλεξίκακος; Athene is to be persuaded on account of her title Ἀλαλκομένης, connected (rightly doubtless) with ἀλαλκεῖν. Hence the choice of ἀλκάν which responds to ἀλκαί in line 12.—Bergk saw that δύνασαι δέ is a parenthesis, and that διδόμεν depends on πειθέμεν; but he is wrong in doubting θαμά. A modern writer would inevitably say αἰεὶ; Greek reserve limited the prayer to θαμά.

98. εἰ γάρ κ.τ.λ.] *It were well, if thou shouldst harness their youth and happy eld to a life of steadfast strength, and eked it out in happiness to the end; and if their children's children possessed for ever the honour which is now theirs and honour nobler still hereafter.* ἐμπεδοσθενής, only here (cf. μεγαλοσθενής l. 2, and ἔμπεδον l. 57). Another ἀπαξ εἰρημένον compounded of ἔμπεδος is found in *Ol.* I. 59, also qualifying βίον, ἐμπεδόμοχος. ἀρμόσαις is the participle (Bergk, reading διαπλέκειν, makes it optative); for the metaphor from a chariot (carried on from l. 93) see *Introduction*, p. 125.

99. ἥβα] We remember that Hebe was the wife of Heracles and the daughter of Hera (l. 95).—διαπλέκειν, like πλέκειν and καταπλέκειν, might be used with βίον in the sense of διάγειν. Pindar has it of weaving a dirge, in *Pyth.* XII. 8, θρήνον διαπλέξαις Ἀθήνα.—λιπαρῷ γήραϊ (*laura senectus*) is Homeric; see λ 136. λιπαρῷ responds to λιπαράμνηκος l. 15.

100. παίδων δέ κ.τ.λ.] These words

γέρας τότ' ἔπερ νῦν καὶ ἄρειον ὄπιθεν. ἐπ. ε'.
 τὸ δ' ἐμὸν οὐ ποτε φάσει κέαρ
 ἀτρόποισι Νεοπτόλεμον ἐλκύσαι
 ἔπεσι· ταῦτ' αὖ δὲ τρὶς τετράκι τ' ἀμπολεῖν
 ἀπορία τελέθει, τέκνοισιν ἄτε μαψυλάκας Διὸς Κόρινθος. 105

respond in meaning to ll. 39, 40. γένος answers to παίδων παῖδες, αἰεὶ to αἰεὶ, γέρας φέρεν to γέρας ἔχειν.

102. τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κ.τ.λ.] *Never will my heart confess to having wrought wrong to Neoptolemus by verses inflexible (i.e. irrevocable). But it argues lack of wit to say over the same words three times and four, like barkers rhymelessly repeating to children, 'Corinthus is a son of Zeus'. ἀτρόποισι, not indecoris (Dissen), but that cannot be turned away. For ἀμπολεῖν cf. Sophocles, Philoctetes, 1238 βούλει τρὶς ἀναπολεῖν μ' ἔπη; μαψυλάκας is accus. plural, co-ordinate with the unexpressed subject of ἀμπολεῖν. It is usually taken as nominative to an understood ἀμπολεῖ. Mr Fennell holds that it qualifies Κόρινθος which he apparently regards as coordinate with (τὸ) ταῦτ' ἀμπολεῖν. Schneider proposed μαψυλάκας agreeing with τέκνοισι (crying for nothing).—In these words Pindar clearly refers to rival poets whose uninventive genius he depreciates; and μαψυλάκας (a word coined for the occasion, perhaps on the analogy of μαψίφωνος, see Hesychius sub voce μαψίφωνον) gives a clue to the identity of the person against whom this shaft is chiefly aimed.*

μαψ-υλάκας suggests its metrical equivalent Βακχ-υλίδης; and while -υλάκας corresponds closely enough to -υλίδης for the purpose of a parody, Βακχ- suggesting the wildness of intoxication is rendered by μάψ. See *Introduction*, p. 126.

Διὸς Κόρινθος, a proverb, explained thus in a scholium: The Megarians, who were a Corinthian colony, were treated arrogantly by the Corinthians, and when they became strong enough revolted. Then the Corinthians send envoys to Megara, and these προσελθόντες εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ διεξήλθον καὶ τέλος ὅτι δικαίως ἂν στενάζειεν ἐπὶ τοῖς γενομένοις ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος, εἰ μὴ λήψοιτο δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν. ἐφ' οἷς παροξυνθέντες οἱ Μεγαρεῖς τοὺς πρέσβεις λίθοις ἔβαλον· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐπιβοηθησάντων τινῶν τοῖς Κορινθίοις καὶ μάχης γενομένης νικήσαντες, φυγῇ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀποφυγόντων ἐφαπτόμενοι, κτείνοντες ἅμα παίειν τὸν Διὸς Κόρινθον ἐκέλευον. ὅθεν φησὶν ὁ Δήμων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄγαν μὲν σεμνυνομένων, κακῶς δὲ καὶ δειλῶς ἀπαλλαττόντων τὴν παροιμίαν ταύτην τετάχθαι.—For the point of the proverb in this passage, as an allusion to λέγοντι γὰρ Διάκον κ.τ.λ. in l. 84, see above, *Introduction*, p. 126.

NEMEAN VIII.

ODE IN HONOUR OF A VICTORY AT NEMEA IN THE STADION WON BY DEINIS OF AEGINA.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Ode in honour of Deinis, who won a footrace at Nemea about the year 491 A.D.¹, is intended for his country Aegina perhaps more than for the victor himself. It was written in the day of her humiliation; and the death of Megas (Meges), the father of Deinis, gave Pindar an opportunity for introducing some mournful Lydian measures, which might at the same time convey his sympathy to the island in her distress. The allusions to the political situation could scarcely be clearer than they are without becoming more than allusive.

When the ambassadors of Darius visited Greece in 491 to demand earth and water as tokens of subjection, Aegina had submitted, and Athens had eagerly seized the opportunity of humbling her rival, by accusing her at Sparta of treachery to the cause of Hellenic freedom. The Spartans listened to the charges and the result was, chiefly owing to the activity of king Cleomenes, that ten of the noblest Aeginetans were sent as hostages to Athens. It was said by a political opponent that Cleomenes was bribed by the Athenians². At this time then the Aeginetans felt that they were compassed about by enemies, and might be glad to receive expressions of sympathy from a poet of fame.

Pindar makes the sorrows of Ajax the central point of his hymn. He often takes this hero as the type of a true man succumbing to envy, and unable, from mere want of words, to meet the arts and policy of a fluent rival. In this case the story of Ajax was particularly suggestive, for Odysseus was a suitable prototype of the Athenians, so noted for their readiness of speech and wit. The case of Ajax shews that the art of cajolery by cunning words is of ancient date. But it is some consolation to reflect that the power of words to heal pain is of ancient date too; and Pindar suggests that he comes to minister a song of healing to the wounds of Aegina. It is also a consolation to remember the power of

¹ Mezger was the first to determine the true date of this ode and explain the political allusions (pp. 325, 326). Dissen thought the hymn referred to the condi-

tion of Aegina after 457 B.C.

² The full account of these events will be found in Herodotus VI. 49, 50.

her great hero Aeacus, and that the men of Athens and Sparta were once upon a time proud and eager to acknowledge his lordship. Such are the chief elements from which this Ode is constructed. We shall now see how the poet has worked them out¹.

A bright prelude, invoking Hôra, the maytime of life,—closely associated with the sweet and bitter uses of love,—is in keeping with the youth of Deinis and meant perhaps to turn his thoughts from the grave of his father to the advancing hours. But the ambrosial pensioners of Aphrodite's train carry us back to the bridal bed of Zeus and Aegina, where Aeacus was conceived; and the transition to the great hero of Aegina is managed with Pindar's unfailing skill. We hear how the prince, in whose temple the Ode is being sung, grew up to excellence in body and mind, and became the king of *Vine-land* (Oenone)—the old name of Aegina. And his greatness was so eminent that the most noble of neighbouring lords voluntarily² became his vassals—including the Athenians³ and the Pelopids of Sparta. And now Aeacus is invoked in behalf of Aegina and her citizens, to secure them the continuance of this prosperity⁴. The poet is not singing merely a song of triumph; he comes rather as a suppliant⁵ to clasp the knees of Aeacus, while he offers his Nemean hymn which he describes as a Lydian headband of music, richly embroidered—a characteristic metaphor taken from the band round which the wreath of victory was twined. This wreath of victory furnishes an opportunity for the supplication; and the impression conveyed is that when Deinis and Megas have introduced Pindar into the temple of Aeacus, their occupation is almost over; Deinis is lost among the citizens of Aegina, of whom solely the poet is thinking, until he addresses Megas in line 44⁶.

The protection of a god may secure the permanence of well-being: this is Pindar's thought in supplicating Aeacus and he illustrates it by the case of Cinyras⁷, the beloved of Apollo, who had been blessed with passing great wealth in Cyprus of the sea. And Pindar indicates that the prosperity of Cinyras is to be compared to the prosperity of Aegina, not only by the

¹ Mezger divides the ode thus:

προοίμιον 1—5; ἀρχά 6—18; κατατροπά 19—22; ὀμφαλός 23—34; μετακατατροπά 35—39; σφραγίς 40—51.

If we discard his nomenclature, this division is reducible to a triple division corresponding to the three metrical systems.

² The spontaneity is emphasized by ἀβουλί at the beginning of the sentence and ἐκόντες at the end, ll. 9—10.

³ The application to contemporary Athens is suggested by στρατός. See note l. 11.

⁴ That this is the object of the suppli-

cation is shewn by γάρ in l. 17.

⁵ ἱκέτας is emphasized by its position in the sentence.

⁶ The only direct references to the victor and his father are in l. 16 and ll. 44—48.

⁷ The reference to Cinyras forms the first line of the second system. By this Pindar gains two advantages; (1) the first and second systems are formally connected by ὅσπερ; (2) the wealth of Cinyras, compared to a fruit-tree, responds, metrically, to the vine-tree, which in the first line of the 3rd antistrophos symbolizes Aegina.

expression 'Cyprus of the sea,' but also by a hint that the Cyprian goddess, so gracious to her priest Cinyras, had also been especially favourable to the union of Zeus and Aegina (*ποιμένες Κυπρίας δώρων*, l. 7¹).

And now approaching the main theme, the tale of Ajax, which, being interpreted, will explain why he should now clasp the knees of Acacus in supplication, Pindar professes to be apprehensive of publishing a new version of an old story, lest envy, like some fell disease, should fasten on him. For he too has envious rivals to complain of, like Ajax of old,—like Aegina now,—like all who are worth envying.

Ajax, according to Pindar's new version², is the man of valour who really deserved the golden arms of Achilles. But unfortunately he had no powers of speech; and his rival Odysseus, by flattering words, seduced the Greeks into giving their votes in his own favour. The votes are represented as given secretly³—as though the Danai were really ashamed of an act of injustice, knowing well that Ajax was the better warrior.

Such is the power and such the antiquity of *Πάρφασις*, compared to a false physician, who is attended on her rounds by flattering tales. She is said to treat with violence the illustrious, while to the obscure she can give an artificial frame of glory, though they are really unsound patients⁴.

And now we reach the third part of the Ode, where those who have suffered like Ajax through the arts of the false physician may find salve for their wounds from the true physician. Pindar at least is not like the Danai,—is not a friend of Parphasis⁵. Some pray for more land (and we read between the lines 'like Athens coveting Aegina'); some pray for gold (and we think of Sparta receiving bribes); but the prayer of Pindar is that he may please the citizens of Aegina, and be just in his praise and in his blame⁶. For just praise is really important. Excellence or 'virtue' in its Greek sense, *ἀρετή*, may be compared to a plant whose growth requires the dew of friendly praise. For this simile Pindar selects the *τῖνε*, indicating thereby that his words are meant for *τῖνε-land*, Oenone, and that the growth of Aeacus, who had so many friends among the surrounding princes, was a type of the growth of *ἀρετή*⁷.

¹ Observe too that Cinyras is compared to a tree laden with fruit, and cf. notes on l. 18 and l. 40.

² Elsewhere (in *Nem.* vii.) Pindar repeats this new version: but it is clear from his words that in this Ode (491 B.C.) it was put forward for the first time.

³ *κρυφαίαι ἐν ψάφοις*, by ballot-pebbles cast secretly into the voting vessels.

⁴ See notes on ll. 22, 32, 37, 48 for the metaphor of the physician which pervades the Ode.

⁵ He prays against the contagion of envy ll. 36—37. See note.

⁶ Line 39 *αἰνέων αἰνητὰ κ.τ.λ.* is intended to contrast with l. 22 *ἄπτεται δ' ἐσλῶν κ.τ.λ.*

⁷ Compare l. 7

*ἐβλασπεν δ' υἱὸς Οἰνῶνας βασιλεὺς
χερὶ καὶ βουλαῖς ἄριστος*

and l. 40

*αὔξεται δ' ἀρετὰ, χλωραῖς ἐέρσαις ὥς
ὅτε δένδρεον οἶνας,*

(where *οἶνας* is my emendation). The comparison to a tree with fruit is an echo of the reference to Cinyras (*φυτευθεὶς* l. 17, *ἐβρισε* l. 18).

Yes, friends are useful, and not only in days of difficulty and distress, though of course chiefly then; but also in the hour of joy can friendship render pledges of her loyalty¹. And this is, after all, an occasion of joy, the victory of Deinis, clouded indeed by the death of his father Megas. The power of friendship or the art of the most friendly physician cannot bring back the spirit of Megas from the underworld; but the Muses can help at least to assuage the pain.

And Pindar here uses one of his most remarkable expressions,—ringing almost as a gauntlet of defiance cast at the feet of Athens and Sparta. He will not offer his services to Aegina covertly, as the Danaï, in a bad cause, served Odysseus by *secret pebbles*; but he will support her by a loud, really clamorous, *stone* of song—a stone that crieth out. And the same stone served too as a sort of funeral stele for Megas. Aegina and the Chariadae (the clan of Megas and Deinis) are here closely associated, and we may suspect that this clan was in a special manner connected with the political difficulties of Aegina; one might even conjecture that the death of Megas had been in some way brought about by the rupture with Sparta.

The ministry of song is like the art of the physician; and the poet may expect to exorcise pain by his literal *charms*². The word *θεραπεύω* has a double sense, of which Pindar takes advantage to make his point³. It may mean *to attend as a physician*, or *to pay court to and flatter*. And these meanings express the distinction between the friendship of the Danaï for Odysseus and the friendship of Pindar for Aegina.

The contrast is carried further. The antiquity of Parphasis had already been declared, but one must not on that account be dejected. One must remember that the hymn of victory, the sovereign healer, is also ancient of days⁴.

It will be seen from the foregoing analysis that the Ode falls naturally into three parts, each occupying a metrical system. (1) In the first part Aeacus is put forward as a hope and divine security for Aegina against all distresses; and the poet offers to him his poem, as a suppliant. (2) In the second part, the myth of Ajax illustrates the power of envy, and shews the ways of Parphasis, *the false physician*. (3) In the third part we learn that there is also *a true physician*, here represented by the poet, whose musical offering to Aeacus is at the same time a charm to heal the wounds of Aegina.

This hymn, then, is the ministration of a friendly physician. The note of friendship⁵ lurks even in the opening lines, in that joyous atmosphere

¹ Pindar is a voluntary and loyal friend of Aegina, as the surrounding princes were loyal friends of Aeacus. *πιστά* in the last line of the third antistrophos (l. 44) corresponds to *πελθεσθ'* in the last line of the first antistrophos (l. 10).

² This is the force of *ἐπαιδοῦς* l. 49.

³ *θεράπευσαν* l. 26. See note on l. 48,

where it is shewn that *πρόσφορον* throws a reflex light on *ἄπτομαι* in l. 14.

⁴ *ἦν γε μὰν δὴ πάλαι*, l. 51 and *ἦν καὶ πάλαι* l. 32. The contrast expressed in these words was observed by Mezger.

⁵ The Pindaric plural *φιλότατες*, used in the sense of *ἔρωτες*, suggests *φιλία* as well as *φιλότης*.

where tender beings hover about the goddess of love or sit, delicately enthroned, on the eyelids of boys and maidens. The peculiarly solemn invocation to Æacus, the dexterous allusions to the conduct of Sparta and Athens, the comparison of the tree at Aegina to the tree at Cyprus, the elaborated character of Parphasis, the bold metaphor of the loud stone of music,—all these thoughts, like the leaves of a garland arranged round a band or *mitra*, depend on a subtle thread, at first not apparent, but hidden away, as it were, in the Lydian warp. This thread is the contrast between the true and the false physician, or the friend and the flatterer, worked out by a skilful use of words which had special associations with the operation of disease or the ministration of medicine—the disease here being envy, which Pindar regarded as perhaps the most dangerous of all moral maladies.

METRICAL ANALYSIS.

Strophe.

v. 1. 2. *a.*

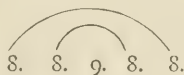
⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — | ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ | 16.

v. 3. *b.* ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — . ⏏ | 9.

vv. 4. 5. *a'.*

⏏ ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — | ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — | 16.

The structure is mesodic, and the formula

*Epode.*

A.

vv. 1. 2. *a.*

⏏ ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ | ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ | 14.

vv. 3. 4. *a'.*

⏏ ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — | ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ | 14.

v. 5. *b.* ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ | 7.

B.

v. 6. *a.* ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ | 10.

v. 7. *a'.* ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ — — — — — ⏏ | 10.

The first part of the epode is epodic, the second antistrophic.

The rhythm of this ode is dactyloepitritic. The musical accompaniment was (partly at least) in Lydian mood; see l. 15.

NEMEONIKAI H'.

ΔΕΙΝΙΔΙ¹ ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΗ.

ΣΤΑΔΙΕΙ.

"Ωρα πότνια, κᾶρυξ Ἀφροδίτας ἀμβροσιᾶν φιλοτάτων, στρ. α'.
παρθενήοις νέοις παίδων τ' ἐφίξοισα γλεφάροις

¹ I have followed Schmid in correcting Δεινία, a mistake of the Byzantine scribes.

The superscription does not occur in the older MSS.

1. "Ωρα κ.τ.λ.] ὥρα is the season of youth in its ripeness, here personified. In the Tenth Olympian the victor is described (l. 103) as ἰδέα καλὸν ὥρα τε κεκραμένον; his comeliness is tempered by puberty; and in the next words ἃ ποτε ἀναιδέα Γανυμήδει πότμον ἀλαλκε σὺν Κυπρογενεῖ (*she who once, in conjunction with Aphrodite, secured immortality for Ganymede*) ὥρα is almost personified. **πότνια** is used by Pindar of the nymph Libya (*Pyth.* ix. 55), the Grace Aglaia (*Ol.* xiv. 13), the Muse (*Nem.* iii. 1), Persephone (*fr.* 37), ἅκτις Ἀελίου (*p.* 107, 9), and once of Aphrodite, with a genitive case (*Pyth.* iv. 213 βελέων). Mr Myers' translation, *Spirit of youth*, is attractive, but suggests modern associations.—The plural of **φιλότας** (a word which implies sexual enjoyment; compare the Homeric *φιλότῃ καὶ εὐνῇ*) occurs three times in Pindar: (1) here, (2) *Pyth.* iv. 92 ὄφρα τις τᾶν ἐν δυνατῷ φιλοτάτων ἐπιψαύειν ἔραται, where ψαύω suggests love touches, (3) *Pyth.* ix. 39 κρυπταὶ κλαῖδες ἐντὶ σοφοῖς Πιεθοῦς ἱερὰν φιλοτάτων. **ἀμβρόσιος** denotes the peculiar effluence exhaled by divine persons or things. It is rarely met in Pindar. In *fr.* 198 we read of the

delectable ambrosial water issuing from the fair spring of Tilphossa (μελιγαθὲς ἀμβρόσιον ὕδωρ); in *Pyth.* iv. 299 of a fountain bubbling with ambrosial verses, παγὰν ἀμβροσίῳ ἐπέων, where the adjective could hardly have been used but for the image of the spring. Each verse, ἕπος, is a bead of water with a divine effluence.

Render: *Souvan Youth, herald of Aphrodite's ambrosial Loves, whose seat is on the young eyelids of maidens and of boys, him thou dost bear aloft with kind constraining hands, but another with touch untoward.*

2. **ἐφίξοισα**] The seat of desire (as of sleep, *Pyth.* ix. 24 and Moschus ii. 3 ὕπνος βλεφάροις ἐφίξων) is the eyelids; cf. Soph. *Antigone*, 795 νικᾷ δ' ἐναργῆς βλεφάρων ἥμερος εὐλέκτρον νύμφας.—The received reading ἄτε παρθενήοις involves the insuperable difficulty of a sentence without a verb (ἄτε βαστάξεις being equivalent to a participle coordinate with ἐφίξοισα). It is clear that a word has fallen out before παίδων and that ἄτε is an awkward insertion to rectify the metre. The line began with παρθενήοις (B παρθενήοισι, D παρθενήοισι) and it is not

τὸν μὲν ἀμέροις ἀνάγκας χερσὶ βαστάξεις, ἕτερον δ' ἑτέραις.
ἀγαπατὰ δὲ καιροῦ μὴ πλαναθέντα πρὸς ἔργον ἕκαστον
τῶν ἀρειόνων ἐρώτων ἐπικρατεῖν δύνασθαι·

5

οἶοι καὶ Διὸς Αἰγίνας τε λέκτρον ποιμένες ἀμφεπόλησαν ἀντ. α'.
Κυπρίας δώρων· ἔβλασται δ' υἱὸς Οἰνώνας βασιλεὺς
χειρὶ καὶ βουλαῖς ἄριστος· πολλά νιν πολλοὶ λιτάνευον ἰδεῖν·

difficult to discover the word which has been accidentally lost. By writing the words in uncials we can see how easily νέοις might have been omitted by a copyist (by parablepsia).

ΠΑΡΘΕΝΕΙΟΙΣΚΝΕΟΙΣΠΑΙΔΟΝ.

νέοις is not superfluous; cf. *Nem.* III. 72 ἐν παισὶ νέοισι παῖς, and *Pyth.* x. 59 νέαισιν τε παρθένοισι μέλημα. We have the opposite of 'young eyelids' in *Pyth.* IV. 121 ἐκ δ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ πομφόλυξαν δάκρυα γηραλέων γλεφάρων, tears welled from his aged eyelids.

3. ἀνάγκας] Compare Spenser's, 'deare constraint.'—The MSS. reading can be defended by *Pyth.* IV. 234 ἀνάγκας ἐντεσσιν instruments of constraint (wherewith Jason binds the necks of Aetes' oxen). Observe that ἄμερος is treated as an adj. of two terminations; in *Nem.* VII. 83 and IX. 44 we have the usual feminine forms. βαστάζω (*gestare*) is used here in its literal sense, bear (as in *Pyth.* IV. 296); but Pindar elsewhere has it in the figurative sense of exalting (=μεγαλύνειν), *Ol.* XII. 19 and *Isth.* III. 8. This transition suggests the idea of 'chairing'. ἑτέραις is euphemistic for rough (schol. σκληραῖς); we may best render it in English by a negative word, untoward, ungentele.

4. ἀγαπατά] It is good and pleasant; for plural cf. ἀπορα, above IV. 71. μὴ πλαναθέντα is not quite μὴ ἀμαρτόντα, nor is ἄμαρταιν quite the same as ἐπλανάθη in *Nem.* VII. 37. ἀμαρτεῖν is to miss the destination, πλανηθῆναι to deviate from the road, here καιρός, due measure.

The φιλότατες, pensioners of Aphrodite's train, lose their personality and pass

into the ἔρωτες, objects of love, in line 5; again in line 6 these ἔρωτες partly resume their personality and become the shepherds who dispense the gifts of the Cyprian queen.

5. ἀρειόνων] *praestantiorum*; 'die besseren Liebesfreuden' (Mezger); cf. ἀμέροις, I. 3. ἐπικρατεῖν, *protiri*.

6. οἶοι καὶ κ.τ.λ.] *Even such loves as ministered round the couch of Zeus and Aegina, dispensing the gifts of the Cyprian dame; and a son grew up, king of Oenona (Vineland), most mighty and wise.*

In *Ol.* x. 8 ποιμήν is used figuratively of an heir, dispenser of wealth. (It does not occur elsewhere in Pindar.) ποιμαίνω is also used figuratively, but rather means *fovere* (*Ol.* XI. 9; *Isth.* IV. 12.)—ἀμφιπολεῖν means to serve as an ἀμφίπολος (θεραπεύειν, Schol. *Pyth.* IV. 271), but suggests the notion of hovering round. βλάσσει occurs in *Ol.* VII. 69, but the verb is not found elsewhere in Pindar. Notice that εἰς is short here before βλ.—For Οἰνώνας see above IV. 46 and V. 15; and compare below, note on l. 40. The close approximation of Κυπρία and Οἰνώνα is designed (see *Nem.* IV. 46).

A scholiast explains the connexion of Hora with Aegina thus: εἰτα ἐπικωμιστικῶς τῶν πατρίων ἐφάπτεται, λέγων τὴν Αἰγίαν δι' ὥραϊσματος ὑπὸ Διὸς ἀνηρπασθαι.—With χειρὶ καὶ βουλαῖς ἄριστος the Homeric line (Γ 179)

ἀμφοτέρων βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερὸς
τ' αἰχμητής

is compared in the scholia.

8. πολλά νιν κ.τ.λ.] *Many prayed earnestly to behold him* (desiring help or

ἄβοατὶ γὰρ ἡρώων ἄωτοι περιναϊεταόντων
ἤθελον κείνου γε πείθεσθ' ἀναξίαις ἐκόντες,

10

οἳ τε κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθάναισιν ἄρμοζον στρατὸν ἐπ. α'.
οἳ τ' ἀνὰ Σπάρταν Πελοπηϊάδαι.

ἰκέτας Αἰακοῦ σεμνῶν γονάτων πόλιός θ' ὑπὲρ φίλας
ἄστῶν θ' ὑπὲρ τῶνδ' ἄπτομαι φέρων

Λυδῖαν μίτραν καναχαδὰ πεποικιλμέναν, 15
Δείνιος δισσῶν σταδίων καὶ πατρὸς Μέγα Νεμεαῖον ἄγαλμα.

counsel, because he was *χειρὶ καὶ βουλαῖς* (ἄριστος). The phrase *πολλὰ λιτανεύειν*, *make many entreaties*, occurred above v. 31.

9. *ἄβοατὶ* κ.τ.λ.] *For unbidden the flower of heroes who dwelled round about, were fain to submit to his dominion, of their own will—they who marshalled a host in craggy Athens and the Pelopids in Sparta's plain.* ἄβοατὶ and ἀναξίαι (plural) are ἅπαξ εἰρημένα. The singular ἀναξία occurs only in a fragment of Aeschylus.—Pindar's usual word to express *περιναϊεταόντες* (which he uses only here) is *περικτίονες*.—The point of these lines is that the heroes became vassals of Aeacus voluntarily; and this is brought out by introducing the sentence with ἄβοατὶ and ending the strophe with ἐκόντες.—For ἄωτος see note on II. 9. The phrase 'flower of knights' occurs in *Troilus and Cressida*, II. 3.

11. *κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθάναισιν*] This expression occurs three times in Pindar; here, *Ol.* VII. 82 and *Ol.* XIII. 38. In Aristophanes, *Birds* 123, Athens is called αἱ κρανααί, and in *Acharnians* 75 κραναὰ πόλις. The epithet of course referred to the Acropolis. In *Isth.* I. 4 κραναὰ is an epithet of Delos.—The words ἄρμοζον στρατὸν, of the Athenians, are remarkable. *στρατός* clearly alludes to the Athenian democracy of Pindar's time; in *Pyth.* II. 87 he calls a democracy λάβρος στρατός.

12. *ἀνὰ Σπάρταν*] *In Sparta.* Cf. *Pyth.* XI. 52 ἀνὰ πόλιν, *in the city*; *Isth.*

VII. 63 Ἴσθμιον ἂν νάπος; *Nem.* VI. 46. The form Πελοπηϊάδαι is related to an hypothetical *Πελοπεύς, dative Πελοπῆϊ, as Ἀμφιτρωνιάδης to Ἀμφιτρύων, dative Ἀμφιτρύωνι. From Πέλοψ, dative Πέλοπι, comes Πέλοπιδης. Pindar makes the power of the Pelopids contemporary with Aeacus, contrary to the usual chronology of the legends; see Müller, *Aegin.* p. 36.

14. ἄπτομαι] For the force see note on lines 37 and 48.

15. *Λυδῖαν* κ.τ.λ.] *A head-band of Lydian music broideder with ringing threads*,—a hymn partly sung to Lydian harmony. *καναχαδὰ* refers to the sound of the instruments, especially flutes. Compare *Soph. Trachiniae*, 641 αὐλὸς οὐκ ἀναρσίαν ἰάχων καναχὰν ἐπάνεισιν. *Pyth.* X. 39 has been quoted above on VII. 80. In the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, I. 185 (or *Hymn to Pythian Apollo* I. 7) *καναχή* is used of the lyre:

τοῖο δὲ φόρμιγξ

χρυσέου ὑπὸ πλήκτρον καναχὴν ἔχει
ἱμερόεσσαν.

For the metaphor cp. ὑφαίνω ποικίλον ἄνδημα, *I weave a broideder anadrom*, frag. 179 (Schol. *Nem.* VII. 116 ἐπεὶ τὸ ποίημα ὑφάσματι παρέοικεν). The μίτρα was a band of wool which formed the foundation of the crown of leaves.

16. *Νεμεαῖον ἄγαλμα*] *A thing of grace from Nemea, to deck two victories won in the race-course by Deinis and his father Megas.* For the adjective *Νεμεαῖος* see above II. 4. ἄγαλμα suggests that the ode will serve as a statue for Deinis

σὺν θεῷ γάρ τοι φυτευθεὶς ὄλβος ἀνθρώποισι παρμονώτερος·

στρ. β'.

ὅσπερ καὶ Κινύραν ἔβρισε πλούτῳ ποντία ἔν ποτε Κύπρῳ.

ἴσταμαι δὴ ποσσὶ κούφοις, ἀμπνέων τε πρὶν τι φάμεν.

πολλὰ γὰρ πολλὰ λέλεκται· νεαρά δ' ἐξευρόντα δόμεν βασάνῳ 20
ἐς ἔλεγχον ἅπας κίνδυνος· ὄψον δὲ λόγοι φθονεροῖσιν·
ἄπτεται δ' ἐσλῶν αἰεὶ, χειρόνεσσι δ' οὐκ ἐρίζει.

and a sepulchral stele for Megas (cf. *Nem.* x. 67).

17. σὺν θεῷ γάρ κ.τ.λ.] Pindar supplicates Aeacus, because weal planted under the auspices of a god—Aeacus is the son of Zeus—is more likely to be permanent. *πάρμονος*=*παρμόνιος* (*Pyth.* vii. 20 *παρμόνιμαν εὐδαιμονίαν*). For the metaphorical use of *φυτεύω* cf. *Islh.* v. 12 *σὺν τέ οἱ δαίμων φυτεύει δόξαν*, and above *Nem.* iv. 59.

18. ὅσπερ κ.τ.λ.] The antecedent of *ὅσπερ* is *θεός*. Cinyras, the beloved of Apollo, is mentioned in *Pyth.* ii. 15. *ἔβρισε* sustains the metaphor of *φυτευθεὶς*—a tree laden with fruit; cf. *βρίθῃσι δὲ δένδρεα καρπῷ*, τ 212. We met *βρίθω* in its intransitive sense *Nem.* iii. 40; here the aorist is transitive, *to load*. Translate, *weighed down the branches of Cinyras with wealth*.

19. ἴσταμαι κ.τ.λ.] *I stand on feet lightly poised*. To render *on light feet* would not convey the meaning, while *on tiptoe* hardly represents Pindar's style. The metaphor from starting in a foot-race is appropriate to Deinis' victory in the stadion. *κούφοισιν ἐκνεῦσαι ποσὶν* occurs in *Ol.* xiii. 114, there too alluding to distinctions of the victor Xenophon in races. In *Pyth.* ix. 11 we have *χερὶ κούφῃ*, in *Ol.* xiv. 17 *κούφα βιβῶντα*. *τε* connects *ἀμπνέων* with *ποσσὶ κούφοις*. *φάμεν* is the only form of the pres. inf. of *φαμί* found in Pindar.—In explanation of *ἀμπνέων* a scholiast remarks:

οἱ μεγάλα φωνεῖν θέλοντες οἷον τραγῳδοὶ προσαναπνέουσιν ἐπιπολὺν, ἵν' ὅταν ἀναφωνήσωσιν ἐξαρκέσῃ ἐπιπλέον ἢ φωνή.

20. πολλὰ γάρ κ.τ.λ.] *Many tales have been told in many a wise. But to discover new things and deliver them to the touchstone for men to prove, is the height of danger. For tales are a treat to envious men, and envy ever assaileth the noble and striveth not with the mean.*

The mere translation of these lines offers no difficulty; but touching their meaning commentators are divided. (1) Dissen refers *πολλὰ λέλεκται* to Cinyras, and explains: 'si carminis ratio postulasset longiorem de Cinyra narrationem, non tacuisset Pindarus nec timuisset reprehensores; nunc autem orditur de Cinyra et statim iterum mittit eum, nulla alia de causa quam ut quasi timens invidos de invidia ipsa dicat ad eamque sensim transeat'. (2) Mezger explains 'die verschiedensten Dinge sind zwar schon auf die verschiedenste Weise dargestellt worden (ohne dass einer etwas dabei riskirt hätte)', and supposes the novelty, for whose reception Pindar feels apprehensive, to be the ascription of Odysseus' victory to his art in twisting words. Mezger understands by *λόγοι tales*, 'Erzählungen, Gedichte'. (3) Mr Fennell's interpretation nearly coincides with Mezger's, but he explains *λόγοι* as *discussion, criticism*.—In my judgment Mezger is right. I believe that *λόγος* was generally used by Pindar of his myths, as clearly in *Nem.* iv. 31 *λόγον ὁ μὴ ξυνιείς*. There can, in any case, be no question that the lines apply to what follows, and not to what is said of Cinyras.

22. ἄπτεται] The subject is ὁ φθόνος, implied in *φθονεροῖσιν*. Dissen quotes

κεῖνος καὶ Τελαμῶνος δάψεν υἷον φασγάνῳ ἀμφικυλίσαις. ἀντ. β'.
 ἦ τιν' ἄγλωσσον μέν, ἦτορ δ' ἄλκιμον, λάθα κατέχει
 ἐν λυγρῷ νείκει· μέγιστον δ' αἰόλῳ ψεύδει γέρας ἀντέταται. 25
 κρυφαίαισι γὰρ ἐν ψάφοις Ὀδυσσῇ Δαναοὶ θεράπευσαν·
 χρυσεῶν δ' Ἀἴας στερηθεὶς ὅπλων φόνῳ πάλαισεν.

ἦ μὰν ἀνόμοιά γε δάοισιν ἐν θερμῷ χροῖ

ἐπ. β'.

Aeschylus, *Persae*, 13 where Ἀσιατογένης supplies the nominative Ἀσία to the verb βαῦζει. The metaphor in ἄπτεται is from a disease, cf. Thucyd. II. 48 ἥψατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων; and in the following line δάψεν carries on the figure. We shall see the medical metaphor recurring in θεράπευσαν, 26, in ll. 32—34 (where Parphasis is the false physician) and in ll. 48—50 (where Pindar is the true physician): also in ll. 36, 37. Parts of ἄπτω occur four times in this Ode (14, 22, 36, 37).

23. **κεῖνος** κ.τ.λ.] *The son of Telamon too felt the eating malady of envy, when his flesh closed upon the sword.* κεῖνος=ὁ φθόνος, which is said to have 'rolled Ajax round his sword'. Compare πεπτῶτα τῷδε περὶ νεορράντῳ ξίφει Sophocles *Ajax* 828, φασγάνῳ περιπτυχῆς 899, ἔγχος περιπετές 907, also *Isthm.* III. 54 ἀλκὰν ταμὼν περὶ ᾧ φασγάνῳ [where however Mr Tyrrell proposes to read δικῶν πέρι, = περιβαλὼν]. For κυλινδῶ cf. κυλινδόμενος περὶ χαλκῷ, Θ 86. δάψεν carries on the metaphor implied in ὄφον.

24. **ἦ τιν'** κ.τ.λ.] *Verily, oblivion burieth many a one, whose tongue is silent, but his heart valiant, in dolorous strife; and supreme honour has been the prize of shifty falsehood.* Ajax and Odysseus are types. λάθα κατέχει means that Ajax was not sung, like Odysseus, by Homer. λυγρῷ has the penult short here, but in *Pyth.* XII. 14 we find λυγρὸν. ἀντέταται 'protenditur, ducta locutione a præmio certaminis ad consequendum propositum', Dissen. Compare below l. 34 ἀντελνεῖ. τελεῶ has often the force of *teneo* rather

than of *tendo*.

26. **κρυφαίαισι** κ.τ.λ.] The Greeks balloted in favour of Odysseus; Pindar implies that they would have been afraid to vote for him openly. Compare Sophocles *Ajax* 1135:

Teucer. κλέπτῃς γὰρ αὐτοῦ ψηφοποιὸς ἠρέθης.

Menelaus. ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς κοῦκ ἐμοὶ τόδ' ἐσφάλη.

27. **φόνῳ πάλαισεν**] *Wrestled with death, πάλαισεν* suggesting agony and φόνος implying a violent death attended with bloodshed. παλαίω is constructed with a dative, cf. *Pyth.* IX. 27. For its metaphorical usage see *Pyth.* IV. 290 κεῖνος Ἄτλας οὐρανῷ προσπαλαίει, and Hesiod, *Works and Days* 413 ἄτῃσι παλαίει.

28. **ἦ μὰν** κ.τ.λ.] *Of a surety, unequal were the gaping wounds they dealt in the warm flesh of the foemen, when they were in the battle-press beneath the spear defensive,—over the body of Achilles new-slain, and on other days of labours fraught with death to many.* For ῥήγνυμι of wounds cf. Sophocles, *Ajax* 834 πλενρὰν διαρρήξαντα τῷδε φασγάνῳ.—**πελεμιζόμενοι**, Wakefield's emendation for πολεμιζόμενοι, is supported by the scholium ὑπ' ἀλεξιμβρότου λόγῃς κινούμενοι. πελεμιζῶ means to *shake*, πελεμιζομαι to *be hard-driven*. ἀλεξιμβροτος is a Pindaric compound, occurring also in *Pyth.* V. 90 Ἀπολλωνίαῖς ἀλεξιμβρότοις πομπαῖς. On the analogy of ἀλεξίκακος, ἀλεξιφάρμακος, ἀλεξιάρη etc. it ought to mean *keeping men away*. In a fragment of Critias however we

ἔλκεα ῥήξαν πελεμιζόμενοι
 ὑπ' ἀλεξιμβρότῳ λόγχῃ, τὰ μὲν ἀμφ' Ἀχιλεὶ νεοκτόνῳ, 30
 ἄλλων τε μόχθων ἐν πολυφθόροις
 ἀμέραις. ἐχθρὰ δ' ἄρα πάρφασις ἦν καὶ πάλαι,
 αἰμύλων μύθων ὁμόφοιτος, δολοφραδῆς, κακοποιὸν ὄνειδος.
 ἂ τὸ μὲν λαμπρὸν βιάται, τῶν δ' ἀφάντων κῦδος ἀντείνει σαθρόν.
 στρ. γ'.

εἴη μή ποτέ μοι τοιοῦτον ἦθος, Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀλλὰ κελεύθους 35
 ἀπλόαις ζωᾷς ἐφαπτοίμαν, θανῶν ὥς παισὶ κλέος
 μὴ τὸ δύσφαμον προσάψω. χρυσὸν εὔχονται, πεδίου δ' ἕτεροι

find ἀλεξίλογος in the sense of *shielding and promoting discourse*. Were it not for the passage in the 5th Pythian we might explain ἀλεξιμβροτος λόγχῃ as *the lance which wardeth men off*. νεόκτονος (equivalent to νεοσφαγῆς) is only found here. For τὰ μὲν—ἄλλων τε cf. μάλα μὲν τροφαῖς ἔτοιμον ἵππων, χαίροντά τε ξενίας πανδόκοις *Ol.* IV. 16.—ἐν πολυφθόροις is Boeckh's emendation of MSS. πολυφθόροις ἐν. It seems that ἐν was accidentally omitted after μόχθων and then inserted in the wrong place.

32. ἐχθρὰ δ' κ.τ.λ.] *Yea, deadly guile in speech is from of old, walking with flattering tales and imagining deceit, a shame that worketh harm,—who treateth the illustrious with violence, and for the obscure setteth up glory of heart unsound.* πάρφασις, *distortion or perversion of truth (calumnia)*, corresponds to the verb πάρφαμι which occurs more than once in Pindar; cf. above *Nem.* v. 31 (middle); *Ol.* VII. 66 θεῶν δ' ὄρκον μέγαν μὴ παρφάμεν; *Pyth.* IX. 43 παρφάμεν τούτου λόγον. The adjective ὁμόφοιτος (probably first used by Pindar) is not *companion*, but *fellow-visitor*. *Parphasis* is a false physician, who pays visits in the company of flattering words (φοιτᾶν is the word for a physician's visits).—αἰμύλος combines the ideas of *crafty* and *bland*. δολοφραδῆς occurs in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, l. 282. κακοποιὸς is not

found in an earlier author than Pindar; it probably had a medical flavour, *noxious, deleterious*.

34. ἀφάντων] Those who ought to be obscure. Cf. *Pyth.* XI. 30 ὁ δὲ χαμηλὰ πνέων ἄφαντον βρέμει, *Ol.* I. 47 ὥς δ' ἄφαντος ἔπελες. ἀντείνει indicates that the sentiment of line 25 is echoed; but it suggests the tension of a really unsound body to present an artificially healthy appearance. σαθρός is a medical term.

35. τοιοῦτον ἦθος] That is *πάρφασις*. ἐφαπτομαι is used by Pindar both with the dative (*Ol.* I. 88, *Pyth.* VIII. 60) and with the genitive (*Ol.* IX. 12, *Nem.* IX. 47). ἀπλόαις is opposed to the crooked ways of *πάρφασις* and her comrades, the αἰμύλοι μῦθοι.

37. προσάψω] This verb is not found elsewhere in Pindar, and its occurrence in such close proximity to ἐφαπτοίμαν is noteworthy. In *Soph. Oedipus at Colonus*, 235, we have προσάπτειν χρῆος πόλει. *Soph.* fr. 514 προσάπτειν φάρμακον. Here the suggestion is of the transmission of a disease. Pindar wishes that he may not come in *contact* with the noxious presence of Envy and convey the *contagion* to his children. Cf. the use of περιάπτειν with ὄνειδος, αἰσχύνῃ &c.

χρυσόν κ.τ.λ.] *Some pray for gold, others for boundless land. I pray that I may win the favour of my fellow-citizens and without forfeiting it may hide my limbs in earth, praising things of good*

ἀπέραντον· ἐγὼ δ' ἀστοῖς ἀδὼν καὶ χθονὶ γυνία καλύψαιμ',
αἰνέων αἰνήτά, μομφὰν δ' ἐπισπείρων ἀλιτροῖς.

ἀντ. γ'.

αὔξεται δ' ἀρετά, χλωραῖς ἐέρσαις ὥς ὅτε δένδρεον οἶνας, 40
ἐν σοφοῖς ἀνδρῶν ἀερθεῖς' ἐν δικάίοις τε, πρὸς ὕγρὸν
αἰθέρα. χρεῖαι δὲ παντοῖαι φίλων ἀνδρῶν· τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ πόνοις

report and sprinkling blame on transgressors. ἔτεροι is understood with χρυσόν. Bergk reads καγ for καὶ but κατὰ with the dative is not found in Pindar. καὶ really presents no difficulty: *having pleased the citizens in my lifetime, may I die still pleasing them* ('etiam moriar talis', Dissen). For the allusions in χρυσόν and πεδίον see *Introduction*. χρυσόν echoes the χρυσέων ὄπλων (l. 27), desired of Odysseus and Ajax.—ἀστοῖς refers to the citizens of Aegina, ἀστών τῶνδε of l. 14.

40. αὔξεται δ' ἀρετά κ.τ.λ.] A corruption in the MSS. has spoiled this line. They give ὥς ὅτε δένδρεον αἰσσει σοφοῖς. Boeckh's emendation ἄσσει ἐν σοφοῖς has been generally accepted; but it is clear that the corruption lies deeper, as ἄσσω is an unsuitable word. As Bergk says: 'sufficiebat αὔξεται, quod additur αἰσσει non solum otiosum sed etiam incommodum est, siquidem ἐέρσαις et αἰσσει non satis apte conciliantur'. [Mr Tyrrell however has called my attention to Σ 506 where ἥισσον means *rose up*. This passage might in some measure defend the use of αἰσσω with δένδρεον.] It is also to be observed that the simple verb αἰσσω does not elsewhere occur in Pindar, and that μεταἰσσω is not only never contracted to μεταῖσσω but has the antepenultimate always long. Bergk proposes αἰνῶ ἐν, but Pindar would not have used αἶνος after αἰνέων αἰνήτά in the preceding line, and ἐν σοφοῖς ἀνδρῶν sufficiently indicates his meaning.

I have ventured to read ὥς ὅτε δένδρεον οἶνας, ἐν. The syllable ΟΙΝ fell out accidentally after ΟΝ, and then the unmean-

ing letters ΔCEN were emended to ΔΙCΕΙ. Pindar compares the growth of ἀρετά in the favourable environment of wise and just men, to that of a vine watered by dews. Of such a growth the Aeginetan hero, Aeacus, was a type; his birth and growth were described in ll. 6—8. And Pindar in his favourite way indicates this. Aeacus was the king of Oenone, *Vineland*,

ἐβλαστεν δ' υἱὸς Οἰνώνας βασιλεύς, and ἀρετά (Aeacus was ἀριστος) is compared to the *vine*;

αὔξεται δ' ἀρετά ὥς ὅτε δένδρεον οἶνας. *Excellence waxeth as the tree of a vine fed by tender dews, and is exalted, amid wise and just men, to the yielding aether.* ὕγρὸν connotes the elasticity of the aether. *Indefinable* approaches the meaning, but a positive word is required. Here, as often, a modern poet supplies the most adequate equivalent, and I have taken a hint from Shakspeare's *yielding air*.

ἐν σοφοῖς ἐν δικάοις τε refers especially to poets—such as are not like the poet of Odysseus.

42. χρεῖαι δέ κ.τ.λ.] *Divers are the uses of friends; supremely in hours of distress, but joy also seeketh that one should set up for her visible pledges.*

B has πιστά· ᾧ Μέγα, D πίσταν ᾧ Μέγα. The scholiast explains ἐπιζητεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν ὁμμάτων τέρψις τὸ πιστόν, ὥστε θέσθαι ἐν ὁμμασι. Triclinius read πίστιν, and Mommsen from the scholium deduced πιστόν. But it is difficult to believe that either πιστόν or πίστιν could have become corrupted to πιστά before ᾧ. Bergk suggested πιστὰ νῶ (νῶ is out

ὑπερώτατα· μαστεύει δὲ καὶ τέρψις ἐν ὄμμασι θέσθαι
πιστά Φοι. Μέγα, τὸ δ' αὖτις τεὰν ψυχὰν κομίζαι

οὐ μοι δυνατόν. κενεᾶν δ' ἐλπίδων χαῖνον τέλος· ἐπ. γ'. 45
σεῦ δὲ πάτρα Χαριάδαις τε λάβρον

of place here). The reading adopted in the text involves scarcely any change and improves the sense. ΟΙ before a vocative was liable to become ὦ. The addition of *φοι* removes ambiguity and makes it clear that joy seeks, not to make but, to have made for her (by poetry) a visible pledge of her existence. For the reflexive use of *φοι* in Pindar cf. *Ol.* XIII. 76:

δεῖξέν τε...

ὥς τέ φοι αὐτά

Ζηνὸς...παῖς ἔπορεν

δαμασίφρονα χρυσόν

where *φοι* refers to the subject of *δεῖξεν*. For the position of *φοι* at the end of the sentence, cf. *Nem.* X. 79 Ζεὺς δ' ἀντίος ἤλυθέ φοι, where it ends a clause.—The plural *πιστά* corresponds to *ὑπερώτατα* preceding. In *Ol.* XI. 6 hymns are called *α πιστὸν ὄρκιον μεγάλαις ἀρεταῖς*, which illustrates the use of *πιστά* here.

44. Μέγα] *But bring back thy soul again, Megas,—I cannot.* A slight break in the translation may partially reproduce the effect of carrying the sentence into the epode.

45. κενεᾶν κ.τ.λ.] *And the end of fond hopes is vain*: a parenthesis. *κενεός* and *χαῖνος* are similarly associated in *Pyth.* II. 61 χαῖνα πρᾶπιδι παλαιμονεῖ κενεά (where however *κενεός* is more objective, *χαῖνος* subjective, while here it is the reverse). One might translate Milton's 'vain deluding joys' by *τέρψεις χαῖναι τε καὶ κενεαί*.

46. σεῦ δὲ πάτρα κ.τ.λ.] *But for thy country and for the Chariadae to rest on, I can set a loud stone of music in honour of the feet of two men which twice won auspicious fame.* *δυνατόν* is carried on from οὐ μοι δυνατόν το ὑπερεῖσαι. From the schol. ἀναστηρίξαι Mezger proposed

ὑπερέσσαι (from *ὑπερεῖσα*), supposing the song to be compared to a stone placed over the tomb of Megas. But *ὑπερέσσαι* (rightly rejected by Herwerden) would almost necessarily require a genitive to follow; it could hardly be used absolutely. *ὑπερεῖσαι*, from *ὑπ-ερείδω*, suits the dative *πάτρα Χαριάδαις τε*, where *πάτρα* is most simply taken as country, not *clan* (so schol. τῇ δὲ σῇ πατρίδι).—If Pindar had meant *primarily* a gravestone he would not have used *λίθος*, which is extremely rare in this sense; the only case quoted in Liddell and Scott is ἡ λίθος in an epigram of Callimachus. The point of this bold metaphor of a sounding stone is different. The poet contrasts his own honesty with the flattery (*πάρφασις*) of others, illustrated by the case of Odysseus. The Greeks, whose spirit is reflected by Homer, served Odysseus by *secret pebbles*, *κρυφαῖσις ἐν ψάφοις θεράπευσαν* (l. 26). Pindar casts no secret pebbles for his heroes; he sets fast a *loud stone* of song.—For *loud* is the meaning of *λάβρος* (so schol. εὐτονον μουσικὴν στήλην) which is generally misinterpreted (Cokesley even proposed τ' ἐλαφρόν). A false connexion with *λαμβάνω* has not only misled lexicographers, but affected the later use of the word. In Homer *λάβρος* always means *loud* or *boisterous*; ὕδωρ λαβρότατον (P 385) is *clamorous rain*, γέφυρος λαβρός (B 148) *the loud west wind* &c. In *Pyth.* III. 40 σέλας δ' ἀμφέδραμεν λάβρον Ἀφαιστον, *λάβρον* signifies the noise made by the fire. In *Ol.* VIII. 36 λάβρον ἀμπνεῦσαι καπνόν, the noise of the rushing fire and smoke in the conflagration of the walls of Troy is suggested. In *Pyth.* II. 244 δράκοντος δ' εἶχετο λαβροτατᾶν γενέων (the reading is somewhat

ὑπερεῖσαι λίθον Μοισαῖον ἑκατι ποδῶν εὐωνύμων
 δις δὴ δυοῖν. χαίρω δὲ πρόσφορον
 ἐν μὲν ἔργῳ κόμπῳν ἰεῖς, ἐπαοιδαῖς δ' ἀνὴρ
 νῶδυνον καὶ τις κάματον θῆκεν. ἦν γε μὰν ἐπικώμιος ὕμνος 50
 δὴ πάλαι καὶ πρὶν γενέσθαι τὰν Ἀδριάστου τὰν τε Καδμείων ἔριν.

doubtful), the epithet becomes much more effective when we recognise that it does not mean 'voracious', which would be somewhat otiose, but expresses the loud hissing of the monster. ὁ λάβρος στρατός, *Pyth.* II. 87, means the *noisy mob*, and λάβρος has the same sense in *Ol.* II. 95 (λάβροι κόρακες). λαβρεύομαι means *to talk loudly*, hence *talk rashly, brag*; and the same meaning is apparent in the Aeschylean compounds λαβροστομεῖν and λαβρόσυντος. In the *Atalanta in Calydon* Artemis is invoked to come 'with clamour of waters and with might'; λάβροις σὺν ἔδασιν would be a good Greek rendering. The use of the word in later authors was affected by an association with λαβεῖν, and it acquired the sense of violent greediness.

ὑπερεῖσαι, it may be observed, suggests propping with a pillow, and perhaps had some special medical use.

47. εὐωνύμων] An allusion to the names of the father and son, Μέγας and Δεῖνις (μέγας and δεινός).

48. χαίρω δέ κ.τ.λ.] *I rejoice to minister due praise in honour of an exploit; and many a man ere now exorcised the pain of toil by songs. Howbeit the hymn of victory is of ancient date, even before the strife arose between Adrastus and the folk of Cadmus.* Taking πρόσφορον in connexion with the following declaration that song is a physic for pain,

I believe that there is a play on a medical sense of the word. προσφέρεισθαι means *to make an application*, or *to administer medicine*. This supports my explanation of λίθον as a contrast to ψάφοις of l. 26; for then we have the further contrast of θεράπεισαν there with the true physician of ll. 48—50.—νῶδυνια is used by Pindar in *Pyth.* III. 6. For πρόσφορος with ἐν cf. *Ol.* IX. 80 εἶην εὐρησιεπὴς ἀναγεῖσθαι πρόσφορος ἐν Μοισᾶν ἴδιφρῳ.

πρόσφορον responds (as Mezger has noticed) to ἄπτομαι φέρων in the same line of the first epode. The responsion shews that ἄπτομαι there is intended to suggest, beyond its primary sense, the touch of a friendly physician.

50. γε μάν] Cp. *Isth.* III. 18 ἄτρωτοί γε μὰν παῖδες θεῶν, *howbeit the children of the gods are proof against wounds.* *Ol.* XIII. 104 νῦν δ' ἔλπομαι μὲν, ἐν θεῷ γε μὰν τέλος. So also *Pyth.* I. 17 and 50; VIII. 18.

51. δὴ πάλαι] Contrast with καὶ πάλαι of l. 32. Song supplies the antidote of calumny. In *Isth.* VII. 1 the comus is called a λύτρον εὐδοξον καμάτων.—The Nemean games were said to have been instituted by Adrastus before his expedition against Thebes: στρατευσάντων γὰρ τῶν περὶ Ἀδραστὸν ἐπὶ Θήβας ὁ Ἀρχέμορος ὑπὸ τοῦ δράκοντος διεφθάρη, οἱ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦ μόρου ἄρξαντι τὰ Νέμεα ἔθηκαν (schol.).

[NEMEAN] IX.

ODE IN HONOUR OF A VICTORY AT SICYON IN THE CHARIOT-RACE WON BY CHROMIUS OF AETNA.

INTRODUCTION.

Ecce iterum Chromius! residing not now in Syracuse, as when the First Nemean Ode was written, but in the city of Aetna, recently founded, whither Hiero had sent him to govern it, or at least to take some part in the administration. In his new abode he celebrated (perhaps in 472 B.C.¹) the anniversary of a victory won by his mares, years before, in a chariot race at Sicyon, in Apollo's games held there and in those days only less famous than the Pythian festival of Delphi; and a *comus* or ode for singing in procession to the sound of lyres and flutes was composed for the feast by Pindar. This Sicyonian Ode has been included in the Nemean collection, along with two other 'unattached' hymns, which have as little to do with Nemea.

The thoughts of the First Nemean and the Ninth 'Nemean,' separated in date by at least a year or two, are superficially similar but not the same. In the earlier hymn, a hope was held out of the 'golden' Olympian wreath; whereas, in the later, Chromius is regarded as a man who after an active and brilliant career may, and, if he understands the art of life, will now enter into his rest. Old age, 'friendless, music-less old age,' which to the Greeks seemed such a dismal prospect, was now for Chromius appreciably near; and Pindar asks himself, how his patron might make the most of the intervening years? He has ascended to the highest rung of ambition's ladder, to use the modern phrase; or, in Pindar's own metaphor, he has upclomb to the loftiest mountain-top that may be trodden by mortal feet. He is laden with riches,

¹ See *Introduction* to the First Nemean. Aetna took the place of Catana in 476 B.C. (Diodorus, XI. 49), but Catana was restored in 460 B.C. (Diodorus, XI. 76), and thus we have a posterior limit for the date of this Ode. The alleged data for a prior limit are (1) the last stanzas, which have been supposed to suggest the presence of Pindar himself at the festivities; Pindar went to Sicily before summer 472; (2) the application of the epithet νεοκτίσταν

to Aetna in l. 2. Boeckh supposes the date to be Ol. 77, (472—471 B.C.). Leopold Schmidt thinks that this hymn was composed at the same time as the Third Pythian.

I am inclined to think that a longer interval than Boeckh imagines separates the two hymns to Chromius, both of which were possibly composed while Pindar was in Sicily. But see further *Appendix C*.

and crowned with glory. Well; let him fully grasp the truth that he has no other worlds to conquer, assured that his estate is really blessed, and let his remaining years be a 'gentle time of life' (*αἰὼν ἡμέρα*). It seems possible that since his Nemean victory Chromius had actually competed unsuccessfully for an Olympian wreath.

That a prominent Sicilian noble should have such a 'gentle time,' an evident condition was that his country should not be moved by the alarms of war; and this thought forms, literally, the central point of Pindar's *comus*. The great idea of the composition,—presented to us in a series of striking reliefs, connected by the most dexterous transitions,—is the contrast of war and peace. Not, of course, that all fighting is condemned; wars may be just or unjust; but any war is to be regretted. As typical of wars displeasing in the sight of heaven is chosen the ominous expedition of the Seven against Thebes, and the hero Amphiaraus is contrasted with Chromius. For Chromius was a tried warrior, who had proved his valour in battles by land and water, but his cause, Pindar says, had been always righteous, and therefore his last end will not be like that of Amphiaraus, a righteous man himself, but unhappily involved in evil communications.

Opening with a jocund scene—the Muses coming from Sicyon, the guests crowding into the house of Chromius, the striking-up of musical instruments—the Ode soon passes into an unpeaceful atmosphere, resounding with the tramping of horses and the rattling of chariot-wheels. The noise of steeds and men contending resounds from strophe to strophe, echoes answering one another, as it were, in the same rhythm out of corresponding nooks; so that this hymn, deprecating war, has quite a martial sound, calculated to awaken in Chromius the memories of his own battles. At length the clamour of fighting dies away, and returning to the jocund scene, as after a dream or by magic, we see the things of peace,—the feast, the poet, the winebowl mixed, and those silver *phiale* or flat-shaped goblets, which had been the prize in the chariot-race at Sicyon, on this anniversary doubtless set in a conspicuous place.

Another element, which contributes to the general effect of the hymn, is a covert comparison of the life of Chromius to an initiation and education in divine Mysteries. Greek Mysteries connected with the worship of various deities, such as Persephone and Dionysus, consisted of 'sights and acts.' A toilsome groping through darkness, followed by a gradual or sudden apparition of light, was one of the acts or *dramata* which awaited the young *mystes*; and one may gather from fragmentary records that initiation involved bodily labours, designed for spiritual purification. Light, with sight thereof, one may conjecture, was the great idea round which the mystical rites revolved, their aim being an education both of the physical and of the mental eye, and the completely initiated therefore being called 'the seer' (*ἐπόπτης*). Flowers were a feature or an accessory of some of the ceremonies, and certain kinds at least, such as the asphodel, the hyacinth and the pansy, had symbolic meanings, closely connected with myths. And as in all institutions of a religious character, there was a mystical vocabulary.

ordinary words being taken in a higher meaning, or, by an association with special rites, becoming specialised.

Into this matter of the Mysteries, which excite our wonder now—wonder being here really equivalent, as Bacon said, to ‘broken knowledge,’—I only go so far as seems necessary for understanding certain allusions in the Ode, and it is enough to point out these three features, the occult language, the occasional foreground or background of flowers, and the central idea of light, called in mystical phrase *φῆγος*. The poet compares his hymn to a ‘spell,’ and the secret suggestions, coming in, as we shall see, at intervals, invest it with a solemn air, perceptible even amid the din of men and horses.

Before beginning the analysis of the composition, we must observe its formal structure, which illustrates the affinities of Pindar’s poetry with plastic art. The hymn may be compared to a frieze of eleven groups, the whole work having a well-marked centre in the sixth group, while each group has a little centre of its own. The strophe consists of three measures, of which the first and third correspond in rhythmical length, having each eighteen beats, while the middle has only eight. Thus the formula of metrical division is

$$18 : 8 : 18.$$

To seize the rhythmical charm of the Dorian strophes, we must further subdivide into clauses and observe the repetitions. Let us take for example the second strophe.

- Measure 1. *ἔστι δὲ τις λόγος ἀνθρώπων τετελεσμένον ἑσλὸν* (clauses 1, 2)
μὴ χαμαὶ σιγᾷ καλύψαι (clause 3)
θεσπεσία δ’ ἐπέων καὶ χαις αἰοιδὰ πρόσφορος (clauses 4, 5)
- Measure 2. *ἀλλ’ ἀνὰ μὲν βρομίαν φόρμιγγ’ ἀνὰ δ’ αὐλὸν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν* (clauses 6, 7)
ὄρσομεν ἅ (clause 8)
- Measure 3. *ἱππίων ἀέθλων κορυφὰν ἄτε Φοῖβῳ* (clause 9)
θῆκεν Ἄδραστος ἐπ’ Ἀσωποῦ ῥέεθροις ὧν ἐγὼ μνασ- (clauses 10, 11)
θεὺς ἐπασκῆσω κλυταῖς ἥρωα τιμαῖς (clauses 12, 13)

It will be seen that clauses 4, 6 and 7 are exactly the same in feet and rhythm as clauses 1 and 2; and that clauses 12 and 13 repeat the rhythm, but here the dactyls are replaced by trochees, which produce the effect of coming to a pause.

The hymn opens with a picture of the Muses, coming, in a rout or comus, to Aetna from Sicily, where they were in attendance on Apollo, then of course present on the occasion of the same games, at which Chromius had won his victory. This skilful indication of the anniversary character of the feast, brings at the same time, by a sort of unnoticed jugglery, Apollo, as lord of the Muses, into more special connexion with the hymn itself. We next see the doors of the rich house at Aetna thrown open, and the guests crowding in; then the chariot and horses, which had won the victory, and Chromius himself appear; the young men prepare to lift up their voices; and we listen for a hymn, which, as the poet warns us, is to have a

certain mystic strain in it, the solemnity of a 'spell' (αὔδα), suitable for the ears of those arch-hierophants, Apollo, his sister and his mother. One must not let silence, he adds, bury a fine achievement in the ground—a saying, we may suspect, of mystical significance, just as our equivalent 'to hide a light under a bushel' has a religious association; and referring to his own special method, he proclaims legendary tales as suitable (most suitable, he thought perhaps) to the praise of a victor.

This is the introduction, a sort of *mise en scène*, occupying the first strophe and part of the second. Then the musical instruments are 'awakened' and translate us at once to the mythical world, to the river Asopus near Sicyon, where the hero Adrastus founded feasts and games, including chariot contests, and made his city glorious. This picture—the river Asopus, feasts and carven chariots—is strictly appropriate to the theme of the Ode, but it serves also to introduce the story of the Seven against Thebes, of whom Amphiarus¹ is selected as the prominent hero, while Adrastus, sinking among the Adrastidae, passes out of sight.

Adrastus, the son of Talaus, was a prince of Argos, and his presence at Sicyon was caused by a quarrel between his family and his cousin Amphiarus, another Argive prince, a prophet and the grandson of a prophet. Their family factions led to bloodshed and to the exile of Adrastus from Argos; Pindar does not mention the death of his father or brother, merely saying, 'the sons of Talaus, overborne by a sedition, were no longer regnant'; and then adding, in reference to Amphiarus, 'the strong man does away with what was just before.'

The strong man; yes, but there was a fate stronger than he, destined to overthrow him through the covetousness of a woman. And Pindar brings this out by a really telling artifice, a bold approximation, which has, as a matter of fact, given some trouble to his commentators, who have failed to perceive the deliberate stroke of art and suspected something wrong in the text. The sentence about the strong man ends a strophe, the word 'strong' (lit. stronger) emphatically beginning the line, and 'man' coming at the end:—

κρέσσων δὲ καππαύει δίκαν τὰν πρόσθεν ἀνὴρ.

The next strophe passes to the reconciliation, but it begins with the very word which so emphatically ended the preceding line. ἀνὴρ is still sounding

¹ Boeckh found the main idea of the Ode in a parallel between the relations of Hiero and Thero, and those of Amphiarus and Adrastus. The quarrel of Hiero and Thero was arranged by a marriage of the king of Syracuse with Thero's niece, which would correspond to the marriage of Amphiarus with the sister of Adrastus. The mere consideration that such an idea would be utterly unsuitable as the ground-work of an ode for Chromius,

is sufficient to refute Boeckh's view. Disen thinks that the expedition against Thebes is merely a warning against unjust wars.

L. Schmidt says that Pindar is painting a picture of peace and repose, which he wishes Aetna and Chromius may enjoy; and this practically is the conclusion of Mezger, who points out the contrast between the horrors of war and a μοῖρα εὖνομος.

in the ears of the friends of Chromius, we may suppose, when the singers of the *comus* continue

ἀνδροδάμαντ' Ἐριφύλαν, ὄρκιον ὥς ὅτε πιστόν.

'Man-quelling Eriphyle,' the sister of Adrastus, was given to Amphiarus, 'as a firm pledge' (how ironical!) in token of reconciliation, and the power of the Adrastid house revived. It is said that the sister was to arbitrate, should disputes arise between her husband and her brother, and on that account was called by Pindar 'man-quelling.' And doubtless this is designed to be the surface meaning, appropriate to the context; but there is a second intention, and the second intention is here more obvious than the first. No one could hear the epithet 'man-quelling' applied to the notorious Eriphyle without remembering the necklace and how she compassed her husband's death. Thus ἀνδροδάμας, occurring several lines before the account of Amphiarus' fate, quite naturally and in a different connexion has the effect of an omen, suggesting that even in the day of his successes there were evil presences near Amphiarus. The device of bringing ἀνὴρ at the end of one strophe and ἀνδροδάμαντ' at the beginning of the next into close proximity forces the omen on the attention; the effect is heightened by the omission of the usual particle of transition (which commentators have tried to amend); and by reading over the lines we can feel how their rhythms, at once similar and different, further the success of the artifice. The comparison between Pindar's work and sculpture suggests an illustration. Let us suppose the third and fourth strophes translated into two adjoining groups in relief. At the extremity of the third group would be represented Amphiarus, the strong man, triumphant after the fall of the Adrastids; at the adjacent extremity of the fourth group we should see Adrastus placing his sister in the hands of his conciliated rival. Well, if the sculptor turned Eriphyle's face backward, and represented her looking with an ominous expression towards the triumphant figure in the third group, which she of course is not supposed to see, the direction of her unconscious eyes might have the sense of an omen for the spectator; and this sense might be accentuated by accessory details.

From the revival of the Adrastid power we pass to the unhappy expedition against Thebes, impious (Pindar deems it) as undertaken in disregard of the signs and warnings of Zeus, who thereby 'bade them forbear the journey'; and he describes the host hastening to the open jaws of destruction in a wonderfully successful arrangement of words, whose sound and meaning seem to have between themselves some secret affinity or understanding,—one of those effects, which Greek art, perfectly concealing her own 'art,' could compass by the simplest words and rhythms dexterously arranged with regard to the vowel sounds,

φαινομένην δ' ἄρ' ἐς ἅταν σπεῦδεν ὄμιλος ἰκέσθαι
χαλκίοις ὅπλοισιν ἱππείοις τε σὺν ἔντεσιν.

Their doom, as it were, *shone* for them; and then we have a picture of seven pyres on the banks of the river Ismenus, fire 'feasting on the blanched

bodies' of young men, the smoke rising fat with the nutrition,—a Feast of Fire; and in the background, obscured by the vapour, a faint vision or suggestion of that 'sweet home' which the dead had wittingly surrendered. And Pindar's language implies perhaps a comparison of the Expedition to a kind of false Mystery; the army is drawn to a false light, and the word 'white-flowered' (λευκανθέα), although the second part of the compound has lost its individuality, reminds us that, in the presence of the figurative blossoms of death, there were no real flowers (to be looked for in the case of a true mystery).

For Amphiarus a separate fate was reserved by the special mercy of Zeus. In the panic he was fleeing from Periclymenus, and could not have escaped him, but that Zeus, willing to spare him the shame of falling by a death-wound dealt behind, clave the earth with a thunderbolt and opened a grave to shroud the hero and his horses. The vision of the hero Amphiarus fleeing, though, as we are told, he had the spirit of a warrior, must strike the sentiment of most modern readers as incongruous; and that is because their sentiment is not attuned to Greek moderation. Pindar formulates the principle here in words which appear nowadays almost to invite ridicule; 'for even sons of gods flee in superhuman panics.' In the eyes of a Greek, bravery, when it defied the powers of Zeus, had passed beyond the due measure of bravery and was no longer worthy of praise; such rashness was the quality that one might find in a barbarous Celt.

It is worth noticing how Pindar hints that the death of Amphiarus was in some sort a retribution for his part in the civil war at Argos which had exiled Adrastus. In l. 14 the Adrastid party is described as

βιασθέντες λύα,

these words ending the line; and the corresponding line of the fifth strophe (l. 24), where Amphiarus' death is described, closes with the words

κερανῶ παμβία,

this responsion clearly suggesting that as Amphiarus had smitten Talaus and his sons, so the bolt of Zeus smote the smiter¹. And if an emendation adopted in the text is true², Pindar has accentuated his thought by the responsion of ἄνδρα in l. 25 to ἀνὴρ in l. 15; 'the strong man' is shrouded in the depths of the earth, Zeus being a stronger than he.

We have now reached the centre of the Ode. Having told what befel the Seven against Thebes, the artist treats that war as a type of what an unrighteous war may be, and places exactly in the middle of his frieze a prayer to Zeus—the god who by his omens had vainly discouraged that expedition—that for as long as possible Sicily may be exempted from such a conflict. The most serious foes then threatening the Sicilian Greeks were the Carthaginians; but the artistic effect of the prayer would have been

¹ The adjective παμβίας, *omnipotent*, was, as far as we can judge, coined expressly for this place, and the other

expression is riveted in the mind by the rarity of the word λύα.

² See note on l. 25.

spoiled if the generality of the statement had been confined by an express mention of a particular enemy. But it was quite in Pindar's manner to introduce an allusion where a direct reference would have been inartistic; and the allusion here is so unmistakable that commentators took the second meaning for the first and mistranslated the passage, until Mezger, a few years ago, saw the true explanation¹.

'If it be possible, O son of Cronus, I would remove to an indefinite distance such a brute arbitrament of empurpled swords,' *φοινικοσπόλων ἐγγέων*. The adjective suggests a 'Phoenician armament,' and one may attempt by 'purpled' or 'purple-mantled' to hint at the Phoenicians of Carthage.

Having deprecated such a war as that which the legends of Argos had led him to describe, Pindar further intreats Zeus for the citizens of Aetna, that they may have a happy experience of political life and that their city may be brightened with festivities and the triumphs of peace. 'Peace be within thy walls, and plenteousness within thy palaces.' And there is some reason to hope for good things in store for them; victories, for example, in chariot-races because they are devoted to horses, and brilliant feasts because their souls are free from the bondage of avarice. In attributing this liberality to the men of Aetna, Pindar of course has one individual chiefly in view, Chromius himself. And he makes this clear by the immediate transition². Love of money is the enemy of the goddess *Aidōs*,—an enemy capable of overreaching by stealthy ways, but unable to steal the heart of Chromius. Pindar appeals to proven bravery in battle by land and sea; and draws a picture of the goddess *Aidōs* arming him, spiritually, for war—a picture reminding modern readers of a lady buckling the armour of a medieval knight. '*Aidōs* who bringeth glory'; but the glory of war is indeed won through horrors, which Pindar suggests in vigorous phrases, descending from 'the danger of the sharp battle cry' to the 'contagious blastment of Enyalios' and deeper still to 'the war-cloud whose rain is clogging blood.'

Thus we have come back to war again, after a transient vision, in between, of a peaceful future for Aetna. The wars of Sicily, in which Chromius took part, are the companion picture to the expedition against Thebes, and Chromius is the figure contrasted with Amphiaraus. The presiding influence in the mythical war was *Ata*; the spirit of Chromius' enterprises was *Aidōs*³. Men and horses are resonant, both here and there, sometimes at the same points of the repeated musical successions⁴; and the 'martial soul'

¹ p. 118. See note on this line.

² Also by having *κτεάνων* in l. 32, and afterwards, of Chromius alone, *κτεάνους πολλοῖς* in l. 46.

³ Compare line 21 (first of 5th strophe) *φαινομένην δ' ἄρ' ἐς ἅταν σπεῦδεν ὄμιλος ἰκέσθαι* with line 36 (first of 8th strophe)

οὔνεκεν ἐν πολέμῳ κείνα θεὸς ἔντυεν αὐτοῦ.

⁴ l. 18 *ἄγαγον στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν αἰσιᾶν* :: l. 38 *ποτὶ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν στίχας*.

l. 22 *χαλκίοις ὅπλοισιν ἰππέοις τε σὺν ἔντεσιν* :: l. 32 *λαόν. ἐντὶ τοι φίλιπποι*.

Also l. 33 *ἄνδρες. ἄπιστον ξειπ' κ.τ.λ.*

of Amphiarauus (for whose end Zeus made provision) seen fleeing before Periclymenus has a metrical position exactly corresponding to the 'soul' of Chromius, armed by the goddess with a weapon for pursuit¹.

For Chromius, thus conceived as (in our phrase) 'the soul of honour,' the cloud of war is the medium through which he reaches light and flowers, as in a mystery. The effect and the connexion of thought in this passage are lost, if we read the sentences apart. "Few be they who have the heart, and hands to take counsel to turn upon the ranks of the foemen the war-cloud whose rain is blood that cloggeth the feet. Verily it is said that for Hector glory burst into flower near the waters of the Scamander; certainly by the deep-cliff'd banks of the Helorus, which flows into the 'Passage of Rhea,' such a light (φέγγος) gleamed for the son of Agesidamus in his early manhood." The battle of the Helorus was Chromius' initiation in mysteries; he had to face the dark cloud, he had to walk in places where his footing was imperilled and his feet impeded; and then he found himself near river banks, strown with flowers of glory, in the presence of a new mystic light.

The scrupulous accuracy of Pindar's art is illustrated here by the introduction of Hector. The flowers of glory are intended to be contrasted with the 'white-flower corpses' that were buried on the banks of the Ismenus; but if Pindar had strown these flowers by the waters of the Helorus, his contrast between Chromius and Amphiarauus would have been wounded or blurred by the introduction of a new contrast between Chromius and the other warriors who fell at Thebes. And so, without sacrificing the precision of his comparison between the two individuals, the artist translates his flowers to the banks of the Scamander, and names Hector, as the type of a class of warriors, to which Chromius himself belongs, patriotic warriors, contrasting them with the other class represented by Amphiarauus and his fellows. This accuracy of thought is emphasized by the adjective βαθυκρήμυοισι, applied to the shores of the Helorus, and responding metrically to the adjective βαθύστερνον, which describes the earth opening her bosom to enfold the son of Oicles:

l. 25, Ζεὺς τὰν βαθύστερνον χθόνα κρύψ' ἄνδρ' ἅμ' ἵπποις

l. 40, ἀγχοῦ, βαθυκρήμυοισι δ' ἅμφ' ἀκταῖς Ἐλώρου.

'In deep places darkness shrouded Amphiarauus';

'By deep places light illuminated Chromius.'

Greek art, at its best,—Pindaric art, for instance—is marked by the rejection of unserviceable ornaments and superfluities. In this passage one might think that Pindar himself is errant for a moment, and that the clause determining the sea into which the Helorus flows is on the most favourable view an unnecessary topographical exegesis, not woven into the spiritual corresponds in metre (although it is not the same line of the strophe) to l. 16 ἀνδροδάμαντ' Ἐριφύλαν κ.τ.λ.—We have ἵπποις again in l. 34, and we had κρατήσιππον in l. 4.

¹ θυμὸν (l. 27) μαχατὰν :: θυμὸν αἰχματὰν (l. 37). This responson was noticed and appreciated by Mezger, p. 119.

texture of the composition. But on closer examination this criticism turns out to be unfair, and 'the Passage of Rhea,' so far from being trivial, becomes a phrase of spiritual significance. At Helorus the light of success had regarded Chromius, but this was only his first achievement, to be followed by others; or, Pindar puts it, the Helorus conducts to the sea which may be considered a *passage* to scenes of future triumphs, noted immediately after, 'exploits on the dusty dryland and on the adjacent ocean.'

That this is really the bearing of the 'Passage of Rhea,' is indicated if I am not mistaken, in the course of the following lines. Having thus summed up the career of Chromius, the poet proceeds to point a conclusion which has a positive and a negative side. A youth and manhood¹ spent laboriously, under the guidance of Justice, ought to be followed by a calm space for a man, who has not yet reached the threshold of old age, and is no longer a νέος. This Chromius may claim. And the gods have in full measure given him bliss—the supreme aim of all Mysteries²,—having laden him with riches and honour and glory. This is the positive side of Pindar's conclusion. The negative side is an injunction, that he should be content now to embrace the prospect of that calm life, making up his mind that he has reached the highest summit possible for mortal feet—reached it, we are reminded by an echo, through clogging blood and dangers³—and that there is 'no passage' to any higher point beyond⁴. At the Helorus, when he was young, he was near the Passage called by mortals 'of Rhea,' and there were worlds to win: but now he stands, where is no passage forward known to men,—no war, at least, if Zeus be gracious to the prayer which the poet addressed to him⁵.

'No war; but peace, and the things beloved of peace,—banqueting, and song. Wine and song are in place now; for song has the magic virtue of touching into young bloom an old victory, and the wine-cup maketh song bold. Therefore mix the wine and fill the cups!' These lines, savouring of the true cômus inspired by Dionysus, take us back, after our march along sombre ways, to the cheerful scene before Chromius' house in Aetna, a scene which we now regard from a wider aspect in the light of Pindar's lesson in the art of life. Echoes of the words which we have heard still haunt the air, awakening that feeling which Lucretius stereotyped in his *suave mari*

¹ ἐκ πόνων δ' | οἱ σὺν νεότατι γένωνται
σὺν τε δίκῃ (l. 44). In point of 'youth' Chromius and his countrymen resembled the warriors who fought at Thebes; but in point of 'justice' their causes differed. Observe the resposion of this line to l. 24

ἐπὶ τὰ γὰρ δαΐσαντο πυραὶ νεογύλους
φῶτας.

² πρὸς δαιμόνων θαυμαστὸν ὄλβον, l. 45. See note. What Amphiarus won from the deities was a panic (δαιμονίοισι φόβοις, l. 27); compare Mezger, p. 121, 'den δαιμόνιοι φόβοι wird ein δαιμόνιος ὄλβος

gegenüber gestellt.'

³ The emphatic dual ποδοῖν at the end of the measure could be dispensed with by the sense; but it has the effect of recalling how the same two feet had often walked through carnage, φόνου παρποδίου l. 37, where φόνου ends the same measure.

⁴ I must refer the reader to the commentary on this passage.

⁵ This is indicated by the use of πόρσω here, echoing ὡς πόρσιστα in the prayer. The thought, which we read between the lines, is rendered clear by the immediate succession of ἀσυχία, Peace.

[NEMEONIKAI] Θ'.

ΧΡΟΜΙΩΙ ΑΙΤΝΑΙΩΙ

ΑΡΜΑΤΙ.

Κωμάσομεν παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος Σικωννόθε, Μοῖσαι, στρ. α'.
τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Λῆτταν, ἔνθ' ἀναπεπταμέναι ξείνων νενίκανται
θύραι,
ὄλβιον ἐς Χρομίου δῶμ'. ἀλλ' ἐπέων γλυκὺν ὕμνον πρᾶσσεται.
τὸ κρατήσιππον γὰρ ἐς ἄρμ' ἀναβαίνων ματέρι καὶ διδύμοις
παῖδεσσιν αὐδὰν μανύει

1. **κωμάσομεν** κ.τ.λ.] In *Isthm.* III. 90 and *Pyth.* IX. 89 the future of κωμάζω is middle, κωμάξομαι, κωμάσομαι. In those passages however the sense is 'celebrate', while here the word bears the more literal meaning, 'proceed as a comus or band of revellers', *comissor*. As the ode is sung on the anniversary of Chromius' victory, the Muses are supposed to be with Apollo at the Sicyonian Pythia, and are called to Aetna. Render: *We shall go in revel forth from Sicyon, from the presence of Apollo, O chauntresses, to new-built Aetna, where doors wide open are too narrow for all the guests, in the wealthy house of Chromios.*—τὸ δὲ νενίκανται ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡττηνται (schol.). ὄλβιον ἐς Χρομίου δῶμα defines ἐς Αἶτταν more strictly.

3. **πρᾶσσεται**] One may feel a doubt between πρᾶσσετε, the reading of B and of the scholiast (who explains διανύσατε), and πρᾶσσεται of D. πρᾶσσειν with the accusative in the sense of *make* is characteristic of Pindar, and he may bid the Muses, *make (or deal) a sweet hymn of legends.* With πρᾶσσεται, Chro-

mius *exacts* the ode (a sense which πρᾶσσοιτο bears in *Ol.* X. 30). I have decided for πρᾶσσεται because it is metrically preferable. No other line in the ode ends with a short vowel (ᾱ, ε, ὕ, or ἰ), though we have *ον, ερ, ἦν*, etc.

4. **κρατήσιππον**] One of Pindar's lofty compounds. Compare *κρατησίμαχος* (*Pyth.* IX. 86), *κρατησίπους* (*Pyth.* X. 16), *κρατησιβίας* (fr. 16).—See *Introduction*, pp. 165 (note), 166 (note), and 168 (note) for echoes of ἵππος.

παῖδεσσι] Pindar uses both this form and *παισί*, as he uses *ποσί, ποσσί* and *πόδεσσι*.—The mother and her two children are Leto, Apollo and Artemis, whom we met together before, *Nem.* VI. 36. By ascending into his chariot Chromius proclaims a song in honour of Apollo, who in the worship at Sicyon was associated with his sister and mother. *αὐδὰν* has roused the suspicions of editors, as it would seem to bear here the unusual sense of *song*. Boeckh read *παῖδεσ' αὐδὰν*; Hermann *αὐχὰν* (in the same sense as *κάucha* below, l. 7), which however can hardly win much support from

Πυθῶνος αἰπεινᾶς ὁμοκλάρους ἐπόπταις.

5

ἔστι δέ τις λόγος ἀνθρώπων, τετελεσμένον ἔσλόν στρ. β'.
μὴ χαμαὶ σιγᾷ καλύψαι· θεσπεσία δ' ἐπέων καύχαις αἰοιδᾶ
πρόσφορος.

ἀλλ' ἀνὰ μὲν βρομίαν φόρμιγγ', ἀνὰ δ' αὐλὸν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὄρσομεν

the scholium τὸ θανμάζεσθαι. Bergk suggests αἴγλαν. Of these, Hermann's is the best, because it might conceivably have been changed to αὐδάν. But the expression αἶχαν (accent so) μανύειν seems hardly natural.—It might seem suspicious that αὐδά does not occur elsewhere in Pindar, and indeed I once thought that Pindar wrote αὐγάν, a blaze of light, thus hinting at a λαμπαδηφορία or torch procession in honour of the three divinities, by which Chromius intended to celebrate his victory. But I now feel sure that αὐδάν was written by Pindar, designedly chosen as a word of ceremonial import. Its special use for an oracular utterance is well known; and it is to be further observed that ἀπανδῶ was a cry used in mysteries and solemn ceremonies. Moreover in *Ol.* 11. 92, we find αὐδάσσομαι ἐνὸρκιον λόγον ἀλαθεῖ νόῳ of a very solemn affirmation, and in *Nem.* x. 80 and 89, the active is used of the speech of Zeus. αὐδά suggests a spell of song, and αὐδάεις in a graceful fragment of Pindar (194) suggests the same idea:

κεκρότῃται χρυσέα κρηπίς ἱεραῖσιν αἰο-
δαῖς·

εἶα τειχίζωμεν ἤδη ποικίλῳ

κόσμον αὐδάεντα λόγων·

ὅς καὶ πολυκλείταν περ εἴοσαν ὅμως Οἴ-
βαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπασκῆσει θεῶν

καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγνιάς.

Here we lose the effect of the epithet of κόσμον if we do not recognise that it implies the potency of a solemn spell:—*come let us build straightway a fair wall of manifold, murmuring tales.*

5. ὁμοκλάρους] consortibus. In *Ol.* 11

49 ὁμοκλάρους means *partaker in the same lot*, namely victory. ἐπόπταις = ἐπισκόποις. Apollo and Artemis are the joint-inthroned governors of steep Pytho.

6. ἔστι δέ κ.τ.λ.] *Men have a proverb, 'Hide not a deed of noble achievement on the ground, in silence' (lit. that one should not hide).* χαμαὶ καλύψαι corresponds to our *hide under a bushel*. The positive equivalent is found in *Pyth.* VIII. 33 ἔτω τὸν χρέος—ποτανόν (noted by Mezger).

7. θεσπεσία κ.τ.λ.] *A lay of divine tales is meet for sounding praises.* This sentence has caused a good deal of discussion. There can be no doubt, I think, that Pindar intends to say in ll. 6, 7, 'a noble deed demands praise, and the fittest praise is a lay of legendary tales', ἐπέων bearing the same sense as above, l. 3. It is clear then that Benedict's correction καύχαις for καύχας is right, a dative being absolutely required after πρόσφορος. The opposition of καύχα to silence is illustrated by *Isthm.* IV. 51 ἀλλ' ὅμως καύχημα κατάβρεχε σιγᾷ. The sense shews that ἐπέων depends on αἰοιδᾶ, not on καύχαις,—αἰοιδᾶ ἐπέων being the ὕμνος ἐπέων of l. 3. θεσπεσία, going so closely in sense with ἐπέων and yet grammatically connected with αἰοιδᾶ, lessens the harshness of separating ἐπέων from αἰοιδᾶ, because it removes all ambiguity. Cf. θεσπεσίων ἐπέων (*Isth.* III. 57) of the Homeric poems—'the tale of Troy divine'.—καύχη, a rare word, may be compared to αἶχη, βλάστη, etc.

8. ἀλλ' ἀνά κ.τ.λ.] *But we shall rouse the pealing lyre, yea and rouse the flute to celebrate the supreme horse-races, those and none other, which Adrastus*

ἱππίων ἀέθλων κορυφάν, ἅτε Φοῖβῳ θῆκεν Ἄδραστος ἐπ'
 Ἄσωποῦ ρέεθροις· ὦν ἐγὼ
 μνασθεῖς ἐπασκῆσω κλυταῖς ἥρωα τιμαῖς,

10

ὃς τότε μὲν βασιλεύων κείθι νέαισί θ' ἐορταῖς στρ. γ'.
 ἰσχύος τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀμίλλαις ἄρμασί τε γλαφυροῖς ἄμφαινε κυδαίνων
 πόλιν.

φευγε γὰρ Ἀμφιάρην ποτὲ θρασυμήδεα καὶ δεινὰν στάσιν

established in honour of Phoebus by the waters of Asopus. ἀνὰ is adverbial, with ὄρσομεν (so called *tnesis*). βρέμεται is used of the lyre *Nem.* XI. 7.—The MSS. have ἐπ' αὐτόν, and all editors read ἐπ' αὐτάν after Schmid. It is possible that this is right, but the change seems too bold, and I content myself with the simpler emendation ἐπ' αὐτῶν, which cannot be called a change, as it was originally written

ΕΠΑΥΤΟΝ.

The meaning is the same as with the reading αὐτάν, for κορυφάν ἱππίων ἀέθλων = ἐξοχώτατα ἵππια ἄεθλα (whence the relative ἅ, for which we might expect ἄν). αὐτῶν is, as Mezger says of αὐτάν, 'im Gegensatz zu den einleitenden Versen; der Dichter wendet sich jetzt zum Kern des Gedichtes, zur Stiftungssage'.—For the separation of the preposition from its case cf. *Nem.* X. 48 παρ Διὸς θῆκε δρόμῳ. For κορυφά cf. *Nem.* X. 32, I. 34.

9. ὦν κ.τ.λ.] Making mention where-of I shall trick out the hero with sounding words of honour. Cf. fr. 194 κόσμον αὐδάεντα λόγων, ὃς καὶ πολυκλείταν περ εἶοισαν ὅμως Θῆβαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπασκῆσει θεῶν καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγνιάς. [Homer p 266 ἐπήσκηται δέ οἱ αὐτῇ τοίχῳ καὶ θρυγκοῖσι.] That the word ἐπασκῆν is here adopted by Pindar from the language of the mysteries seems possible, if we observe the gloss of Hesychius ἐπασκεῖν· σέβεσθαι, ἀγνεύειν, and this possibility becomes really probable from the circumstance that in the fragment, just quoted, ἐπασκῆσει is in close junction with αὐδά-

εντα, a word which, as we have already seen, had mystical associations.

This uncommon expression, used in reference to *Adrastus*, is answered in l. 54 by τιμαλφεῖν λόγοις (also unique in Pindar) in reference to the victory of *Chromius*.—θῆκεν, here of establishing games; but θεῖναι ἀγῶνα was also the technical expression for administering games.

12. ἰσχύος τ' κ.τ.λ.] ἀμίλλαις is constructed with both genitive and dative (as *Olymp.* V. 6, 7): and by contests which prove men's strength and races with chariots he made the city bright and glorious. In *Pyth.* I. 31 the phrase κυδαίνειν πόλιν recurs (cf. *Ol.* X. 66). For ἄμφαινε cf. *Pyth.* IX. 73 ἐνθα νικάσας ἀνέφανε Κυράναν, and *Pyth.* IV. 62 βασιλεῖ ἄμφανε, declared king.

13. Ἀμφιάρην ποτέ] B has preserved ποτέ. The question is whether we should, with most editors, adopt Ἀμφιάρην τε from D; or follow Bergk in reading Ἀμφιάρην and keeping ποτέ. Metrically the reading of D is preferable to the emendation of Bergk; for in the corresponding lines of all the other strophes the third foot is a spondee. This consideration however is not decisive and must yield to others; but it may be mentioned that in the present Ode the second foot of the seventh strophe is ἐντί, a trochee, whereas elsewhere the corresponding feet are spondees. From a critical point of view Bergk's reading is in my opinion inexpugnable; for, assuming it to be correct,

πατρῶων οἴκων ἀπό τ' Ἀργεος· ἀρχοὶ δ' οὐκ ἔτ' ἔσαν Ταλαοῦ
παῖδες, βιασθέντες λύα.

κρέσσων δὲ καππαίνει δίκαν τὰν πρόσθεν ἀνὴρ.

15

ἀνδροδάμαντ' Ἐριφύλαν, ὄρκιον ὥς ὅτε πιστόν,

στρ. δ'.

the corruptions of the mss. were almost inevitable. The usual form of the proper name in Pindar is Ἀμφιάργος, and though he uses Ἀμφιάρης in this very hymn l. 24, (the *Etym. Mag.* bears witness to the existence of the form), it is clear that the scribes had a very strong temptation to alter the rare into the more usual accusative by the insertion of an omicron. Hence the reading of B. The next step was to observe that the metre was at fault and to amend it by the obvious resort of clipping ποτέ into τε. Hence the reading of D. In point of sense, the verse with ποτε is superior to the verse with τε.

θρασυμήδεια] This epithet (*boldhearted*) is applied to Salmoneus, *Pyth.* IV. 143, and to Alexander, son of Amyntas, frag. 120. In two other places θρασὺς and δεινός occur in close collocation: *Pyth.* II. 64 θράσος δεινῶν πολέμων, and *Nem.* IV. 64 θρασυμαχῶν λεόντων...δεινοτάτων ὀδόντων. Else in Pindar δεινός occurs only twice, *Pyth.* I. 26, of 'wells of flame most dire' and *Nem.* X. 65.

14. Ταλαοῦ παῖδες] Prónax and Adrastus were the sons of Talauus, who was the son of Bias. For these somewhat obscure mythological relationships it will be best to quote the scholium:

οἱ δὲ φασί· Προῖτος ἐβασίλευσε τοῦ Ἀργεος, τῶν θυγατέρων δὲ αὐτοῦ μανεισῶν Μελάμπος μάντις ὦν παρεγένετο· ὁμολογηθέντος δὲ αὐτῷ μισθοῦ τῶν θυεῖν μερῶν τῆς βασιλείας ἐκάθρεν αὐτάς· ὥς δὲ ἐκάθρεν, ἔλαβε κατὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐκινώσατο τῷ ἀδελφῷ Βίαντι, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ κατέσχευεν αὐτῷ, ὥστε γεννηθῆναι τὴν ὅλην βασιλείαν τριμερῇ, Μελαμποδίδας, Βιαντίδας, Προϊτίδας. Μελάμποδος μὲν οὖν Ἀντιφάτης, οὗ Ὀϊκλῆς, οὗ Ἀμφιά-

ραος· Βίαντος δὲ Ταλαός, οὗ Ἀδραστος. Προῖτου δὲ Μεγαπένθης, οὗ Ἰππώνους οὗ Καπανεύς, οὗ Σθένελος. διαφορὰ δὲ ἐγενήθη τοῖς περὶ Ἀμφιάρων καὶ Ἀδραστων, ὥστε τὸν μὲν Ταλαὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀμφιάρου ἀποθανεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀδραστον φνιγεῖν εἰς Σικυῶνα, κ.τ.λ. Menaechmus of Sicyon mentions the death of Prónax on the same occasion, in a passage quoted by the scholiast and worth reproducing here if only for the sake of a certain emendation of Carl Müller: χρόνου παρελθόντος πολλοῦ Πρῶναξ μὲν ὁ Ταλαοῦ καὶ Λυσιμάχης τῆς Πολύβου βασιλεύων Ἀργείων ἀποθνήσκει, καταστασιασθεὶς (Müller for κατασταθείς) ὑπὸ Ἀμφιάρου καὶ τῶν Μελαμποδιδῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀναξαγοριδῶν.

βιασθέντες λύα] We met a part of βιάω in VIII. 34, here we have a part of βιάζω; they are both unique in Pindar's extant poems. λύα, an extremely rare word, equivalent to στάσις, its literal sense being clearly 'deliverance'.

15. κρέσσων κ.τ.λ.] *When a stronger man cometh, he doeth away with existing right.* Schol. ὁ δὲ ἰσχυρὸς ἀνὴρ τὸ προϋπάρχον δίκαιον καταπαίνει. The point of the verse, applicable to most conquerors, disappears, if we take δίκη in the sense of *lis*. Mezger interprets rightly 'Macht geht vor Recht'.

16. ἀνδροδάμαντ' Ἐριφύλαν] The German language with its *Mann* of double sense might render here, better than English, an effect of Pindar's art. The strong 'man' of l. 15 is immediately followed by the 'Man-quelling Eriphyle'; and as we hear of the might and success of Amphiarus, we are reminded by an ambiguous word, as by a bird of ill omen flitting across the page, that he was to be subdued through the perfidy of his wife.

δόντες Οἰκλείδα γυναῖκα, ξανθοκομᾶν Δαναῶν †ῆσαν μέγιστοι†.

And this juxtaposition of ἀνὴρ ending the third strophe, and ἀνδροδάμαντ' beginning the fourth strophe, a striking artifice, is emphasized by the designed omission of the usual particle of transition. Other examples of such an omission will be found in *Nem.* x. 61 and 75.

The reconciliation of Amphiaraus and Adrastus was sealed by the marriage of the former with the latter's sister Eriphyle: schol. ὕστερον μέντοι συνεληλύθασιν πάλιν, ἐφ' ᾧ συνοικήσει τῇ Ἐριφύλῃ ὁ Ἀμφιάραος, ἵν' εἴ τι μέγ' ἔρισμα μετ' ἀμφοτέρωσι γένηται, αὐτῇ διαιτᾷ. And on the strength of this von Leutsch and Mezger hold that Eriphyle is called ἀνδροδάμας, not in reference to her connexion with her husband's fate, but 'weil sie zur Schiedsrichterin zwischen ihrem Gatten und Bruder bestellt war, wenn allenfalls Zwist unter ihnen ausbräche'. And this suggestion has a certain value, but it must be supplemented by the ordinary explanation, which v. Leutsch rejects. As I said above, ἀνδροδάμαντ' is ambiguous. Well, the interpretation of von Leutsch is the harmless superficial meaning, while the ordinary explanation gives the ominous under-meaning. Only in this case the parts are inverted, and the under-meaning is the more obvious.

ἀνδροδάμαντ' is preserved by B. B gives ἀνδροδάμαν τ', D has ἀνδρομάδαν τ'. The adjective ἀνδροδάμας occurs in *Nem.* III. 39 and frag. 166.

17. δόντες κ.τ.λ.] *Having given to Amphiaraus (the son of Oicles) Eriphyle to wife, as a firm pledge, they—the sons of Talans—were most mighty among the yellow-haired Danaï.* Such is the meaning of the MSS. reading as it stands—ῆσαν μέγιστοι. Either this verse or the next is metrically incomplete (the MSS. divide the lines after καὶ ποτ' ἐς); and the question is whether the text is right as far as it goes, or are the words ῆσαν

μέγιστοι themselves corrupt, perhaps a gloss. It is clear that ῆσαν cannot be right, as the Pindaric form is invariably ἔσαν (in *Ol.* IX. 53, where the MSS. vary between δ' ῆσαν, δ' ἔσαν and δ' ἔσαν Bergk has rightly restored δὴ ἔσαν), and Boeckh's ἔσαν does not improve matters. And if we condemn ῆσαν we must condemn μέγιστοι, a word very likely to have ousted from the text some more coloured expression, of which it was a marginal explanation. This is the view of Bergk.

Assuming then that the original words of Pindar after Δαναῶν have been lost, let us see whether we have any means of finding them. To begin with, we have the gloss ῆσαν μέγιστοι; and we have also the paraphrase of a scholiast to the same effect, καὶ οὕτω τῶν ξανθοκόμων Ἑλλήνων ἐγένοντο περιφανέστατοι (Bergk for MSS. περιφανέστεροι) οἱ περὶ Ἀδραστον. There can, I think, be no doubt that the writer of this scholium had the genuine text before him, for ἐγένοντο περιφανέστατοι is unlikely as an interpretation of ῆσαν μέγιστοι. Now the sense demands a part of γίνομαι rather than a part of εἶμι; hence Bergk (*paraphrasis vestigia legens* as he says) supplies τὰ πρῶτ' ἐγεντ' Ἀδραστίδαι.

Ἀδραστίδαι is hardly right: οἱ περὶ Ἀδραστον in the scholium does not imply that the subject of the sentence was expressed. Moreover ἐγεντο is always singular in Pindar (see *Pyth.* VI. 28, frag. 147), who uses ἐγένοντο very often, and it is therefore necessary to modify Bergk's reading, while we attribute to him the credit of a good suggestion. I propose πρῶτοι ἔγενοντο, but feel unable to decide whether the lacuna should be marked in l. 17 or in l. 18. On behalf of πρῶτοι it may be said that it is a word likely to have been elucidated by a marginal synonym, inasmuch as Pindar rarely (once or twice) uses πρῶτος in the sense of μέγιστος.

καί ποτ' ἐς ἑπταπύλους Θήβας ἄγαγον στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν αἰσιαν
οὐ κατ' ὀρνίχων ὁδόν· οὐδὲ Κρονίων ἄστεροπιν ἐλελίξαις οἴκοθεν
μαργουμένους
στείχειν ἐπώτρυν', ἀλλὰ φείσασθαι κελεύθου. 20

φαινομένην δ' ἄρ' ἐς ἅταν σπεύδεν ὄμιλος ἰκέσθαι στρ. ε'.
χαλκείοις ὅπλοισιν ἰππείοις τε σὺν ἔντεσιν· Ἴσμηνοῦ δ' ἐπ'
ὄχθαισι γλυκὺν

Other editors, accepting ἦσαν or ἔσσαν μέγιστοι, have filled up the gap in various ways. Boeckh punctuating at μέγιστοι read δὴ τόθεν, suggested by the scholium on l. 18, ἐντεῦθεν δὴ καὶ εἰς τὰς Θήβας κ.τ.λ. Hartung accepts δὴ τόθεν but connects the phrase with the foregoing words, punctuating at τόθεν. Rauchenstein reads τουτάκι (punctuating at μέγιστοι), which Schnitzer praises. Bergk's earlier conjecture λαγέται deserves mention. [See further *Appendix A*, note 8.]

18—20. καί ποτ' κ.τ.λ.] *And on a time they led a host against Seven-gated Thebes, sped on their way by no well-boding birds; nor did the son of Cronus swinging a bolt of lightning urge them to set forth, in fury fell, from home, but bade them spare the journey.*

Observe that the penultimate of Κρονίων is long here, as in *Pyth.* i. 71. In the other five places where it occurs in Pindar it is short (as below, l. 28).—Elsewhere Pindar uses στεροπά. ἐλελίξω (*vibrare*) occurs in *Ol.* ix. 13 and *Pyth.* i. 4 of the *phorminx*.

In l. 20 the sense of ἐκέλευσε implied in ἐπώτρυνε is carried on to φείσασθαι.

21. φαινομένην κ.τ.λ.] *But certes, the company sped on their way to doom clearly revealed, with brazen armour and steeds and the accoutrements thereof (that is, chariots). In elucidation of φαινομένην all the editors quote Archilochus, frag. 98 (ed. Bergk) φαινόμενον κακὸν οἶκαδ' ἄγεσθαι. The point is that the doom was revealed by omens. ἰππείοις ἔντεσι*

refer here to the chariots (not merely the harness) as in *Ol.* xiii. 20 (this use is noticed by schol. *Il.* Ω 277, see Rumpel's *Lexicon*, *sub* ἔντος). ἔντος is a favourite word of Pindar for gear and instruments of various kinds; for example, it is the Pindaric equivalent of 'a musical instrument'.

23. ἐρεισάμενοι] We have to decide here between the claims of ἐρεισάμενοι, the reading of B, and ἐρυσάμενοι, Hermann's correction of ἐρυσάμενοι, the reading of D. The numerous 'emendations' which have been suggested (such as ὀλεσάμενοι Benedict, ἀπουράμενοι Hartung, ἐρυνόμενοι Herwerden) may be safely neglected, as so many wild guesses; and in not a single case has any serious attempt been made to account for the origin of the mss. readings.

ἐρυσάμενοι has been explained in two ways. (1) Dissen translates *inhibentes*. This meaning may be arrived at through the idea of *defending oneself against, preventing*; but in this sense, νόστον ἐρυσάμενοι is an unnatural expression, and quite inappropriate to the context. (2) Mezger seizes another sense of ἐρύεσθαι, —*draw towards oneself*; and translates 'um die süsse Rückkehr ringend' (comparing Σ 174), *striving for sweet return*. Against this view—modified and rendered attractive by Mr Tyrrell's happy translation *after the tug of war for sweet home*—the tense seems to me an objection. ἐρυσάμενοι cannot strictly mean 'in a struggle for'; and could it mean

νόστον ἐρεισόμενοι λευκανθέα σώματ' ἐπίαναν καπνόν·

(as Mr Tyrrell's view implies) 'having tugged in vain for'?

The reading ἐρεισόμενοι, which has the superior MSS. authority of B β, has baffled commentators (ἐρυσσάμενοι, I have no doubt, being only the earliest 'emendation'), yet its appearance in the text seems inexplicable, unless we assume it to be genuine. And if we analyse the meaning of ἐρείδω, we shall see that the phrase is really significant. ἐρείδω means to fix a thing in a position from which it cannot be dislodged without external intervention; ἐρείδειν ἄγκυραν χθονί, to fix an anchor firm in the ground, ἐρείδεσθαι λίθον ἐπὶ τοιχῷ, to set a stone firm on a wall, are typical instances. Now when the Argive army went against Thebes, their doom was sealed and they were destined never to return home. Dealing with this, a modern writer might say that, when they arrived at Thebes, they *buried their hopes* of seeing home once more on the banks of the Ismenus. Now Pindar expresses this objectively and with a different metaphor; γλυκὺς νόστος *sweet return* (the nearest Greek equivalent for our *home, sweet home*) being conceived as a sort of burden or cargo, which the host carried with them, but, instead of retaining it, fixed in an immovable position on the banks of the foreign river. This imaginative transformation of the abstract conception γλυκὺς νόστος, as if it were a kind of talisman, carried in the hands, is the only difficulty in the passage. The interpretation of the scholiast, τὴν οἴκου ἀνακομιδὴν ἀπέθεντο, though it hardly explains the metaphor, gives the sense and is certainly a paraphrase of ἐρεισόμενοι (not of ἐρυσσάμενοι). We may render the whole sentence thus:

And on the banks of Ismenus, having laid down their longings for sweet home, as blanched corpses they fed fat the smoke.

It will be noticed that I have used a

subjective phrase to express the force of the middle in ἐρεισόμενοι.

Λευκανθέα κ.τ.λ.] ι in πιαίνω, here long, is short in *Pyth.* IV. 150.—A slight slip in the MSS., and a divergent explanation in the scholium have given rise to a doubt. From σώμασιν ἐπίαναν B, and σώμασι ἐπίαναν D, it might seem simple to deduce σώμασι πíanαν (Hermann). But the scholiast clearly read σώματ' ἐπίαναν and connected it with λευκανθέα, for he offers us the choice of connecting the adjective with either σώματα or καπνόν. The words are:

Λευκανθέα δὲ λέγει τὰ σώματα· γίνε-
ται γὰρ τὰ σώματα τῶν καιομένων νεκρῶν
λευκά, ἢ τὸν καπνόν, ὅτι ὁ καπνὸς
διὰ τὴν πιμελὴν λευκός ἐστι καὶ βαρὺς
κ.τ.λ.

A moment's consideration will demonstrate that the reading explained by this scholium is right. If Pindar had written σώμασι πíanαν, the variant σώματα implying a more difficult construction would never have appeared; whereas if he wrote σώματ' ἐπίαναν, it is extremely natural that scribes not apprehending the syntax should have changed σώματ' to σώμασι. This a priori consideration is completely confirmed by the evidence of the MSS.—namely by the tell-tale augment. The scribe who passed by κρύψεν in line 25, would not have added an epsilon in line 23, if he had found πíanαν. In other words, were σώμασι πíanαν the true reading, the corruption in the MSS. would be almost unintelligible; whereas if σώματ' ἐπίαναν is genuine, the traditions of B and D are completely explained.

The word λευκανθής (familiar from Sophocles' λευκανθὲς κάρα) is one of those words in which the second part has almost lost its original identity of meaning, and it differentiates itself from the simple λευκός by a subtle association rather than by any tangible property; being in

ἐπταὶ γὰρ δαΐσαντο πυραὶ νεογνίους φώτας· ὁ δ' Ἀμφιάργῃ
σχίσσαις κεραυνῷ παμβία

fact a more exquisite word, so that in rendering we may adopt *blanched*, a more exquisite word than *white*. But in this instance, *-ανθής* has really a function to perform, and the insignificant 'bloom' of the dead on the banks of the Ismenus is designed to leave an impression, to be contrasted shortly with 'flowers of fame' plucked hard by the waters of the Scamander and the Helorus.

24. δαΐσαντο] *Feasted on the limbs of the young men*: schol. τὰ τῶν νέων κατεν-ωχθήθησαν καὶ κατέφλεξαν. This is the only place in Pindar where δαίνυμι is used metaphorically; it keeps up the metaphor of ἐπίαναν. νεογνίους (a Pindaric coinage, occurring in Fr. 123 as an epithet of Youth) is emphatic and responds to νεβ-τατι in verse 44 below (see above, *Introduction*, p. 167).

σχίσσαις] The MSS. here present a problem of some difficulty. B *prima manu*, and B have σχίσαις, D and B *secunda manu* have σχίσεν and σχίσει respectively; all three MSS. agree in reading κρύψεν δ' ἄμ' ἵπποις in l. 25. Here is a dilemma: if σχίσεν is right, how are we to account for the reading σχίσαις, which, as the text stands, lacks a construction? If on the other hand σχίσσαις is right the text in line 25 must have suffered some corruption. Mr Tyrrell has suggested that we should read in line 24 σχίσσ' ἐν κεραυνῷ, ἐν having an instrumental force as in ἐν χειρὶ ἀκμῇ. If we suppose that through ignorance of this usage ἐν was omitted, it is possible, but, I think, improbable, that σχίσαις might have been elicited from cxiicc.—I believe that we must accept σχίσσαις and seek for the error in the following line. ἄμ' ἵπποις is clearly sound, κρύψ- at least is sound too, and the fault must lie in the letters εν δ. Now it seems probable that an accusative

followed κρύψε; in reading the whole sentence one feels that a second indication of Amphiarus would be a distinct improvement. And here Pindar's artificial method of responsions supplies us with the clue and suggests that by the word ἄνδρα he could have emphasized the contrast between the day of the hero's success, mentioned in line 15 (κρέσσων ἄνθρ) and the day of his destruction. I therefore propose to read

κρύψ' ἄνδρ' ἄμ' ἵπποις

and I think one feels that ἄμ' ἵπποις almost requires ἄνδρα. To explain the corruption, we have only to suppose the accidental omission of ρ. κρυψανδ was necessarily read κρύψαν δ', and κρύψαν inevitably changed to κρύψεν. The correction of σχίσσαις to σχίσεν followed immediately, but fortunately the traces of the participle have not been obliterated.

My restoration of ἄνδρα is confirmed by παμβία (*omnipotent, resistless*), a word invented by Pindar for this passage, for the purpose of an emphatic responson to βιασθέντες of l. 14. As the children of Talaus were *overpowered* by Amphiarus, the strong *man* who upsets existing right, even so Amphiarus was quelled by the *all-powerful* lightning of Zeus, the *man* himself and his horses.

Rauchenstein reads γὰρ βαθύστερνον, χθονὶ κρύψεν δ', and Bergk (who keeps σχίσσαις) follows him, except that he changes δ' ἄμ' to θάμ' (which is of course untenable). To this change its author was led by the interpretation of the scholium: διέσχισε καὶ διέστησε τὴν γῆν πλατεΐαν...καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐκρύφθη κ.τ.λ. This is an absurd way of dealing with the scholia, and, logically followed out, would lead to a curious text. The interpretation does not imply anything more than the reading which the MSS. present, and I need hardly observe how

Ζεὺς τὰν βαθύστερνον χθόνα, κρύψ' ἄνδρ' ἅμ' ἵπποις, 25

δουρὶ Περικλυμένου πρὶν νῶτα τυπέντα μαχατὰν στρ. 5'.
θυμὸν αἰσχυνθῆμεν. ἐν γὰρ δαιμονίοισι φόβοις φεύγοντι καὶ
παῖδες θεῶν.

εἰ δυνατόν, Κρονίων, πείραν μὲν ἀγάνορα φοινικοστόλων
ἐγχεῶν ταύταν θανάτου πέρι καὶ ζωᾶς ἀναβάλλομαι ὡς πόρσιστα,
μοῖραν δ' εὖνομον

inferior is Rauchenstein's gratuitously redundant sentence. Are we to make the justifiable pleonasm of a scholiast a standard for Pindar?

25. **βαθύστερνον**] *Deep-chested*, suggesting the deep fissure in which the chariot was engulfed. In *Isth.* III. 12, the adjective is used of the vale of Nemea. See below on verse 40.

26. **Περικλυμένον**] Schol. τῷ Περικλυμένῳ, ὃς ἦν υἱὸς Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Χλωρίδος τῆς Τειρεσίου ὁμώνυμος τῷ Νηλέως.—Of τύπτω Pindar uses only the present and second aorist participles passive.

μαχατὰν θυμόν] *Ere—he was shamed in his valiant soul*, or *felt a soil on his warrior soul*, αἰσχρὸς and αἰσχύνω implying originally a physical disfigurement. The unusual phrase **μαχατὰν θυμόν** (φῶτα **μαχατὰν** occurs in *Nem.* II. 13, cf. *Isth.* VI. 31) is echoed, with a variation, below I. 37 in **αἰχματὰν θυμόν**.

27. **ἐν γάρ κ.τ.λ.**] *For in panics superhuman, even sons of the gods flee*; and therefore the flight of Amphiaras (implied in νῶτα) may be condoned. Schol. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς μεγίστοις καὶ ἐνθέοις φόβοις κ.τ.λ. The author of the panic in this instance was Zeus (ὁ γὰρ Ζεὺς συνεμάχει τότε τοῖς Θηβαίοις, schol.) and to him the poet appeals in the next line.

28. **εἰ δυνατόν κ.τ.λ.**] *If it be possible, O son of Cronus, I had fain defer as long as may be (indefinitely) a brute arbitration of purpled (or purple-mantled) swords, such as this, fought for life and death.* Mezger was the first to see that **φοινικοστόλων** is an adjective (he compares λυδ-

στολος, *φοινικοίμων*) 'mit Roth d. h. mit Blut überzogen', not a proper name, as the scholiast and previous commentators explained. Thus **ταύταν** becomes intelligible—such an enterprise as that of the Seven against Thebes; and the sentence is seen to be in close connexion with the preceding myth. Of course **φοινικοστόλων** alludes to the Phoenicians of Carthage, by whom Sicily at this period was continually threatened. It is impossible to bring out satisfactorily in English this second intent; I have made an attempt to suggest it by the word *purpled* (cf. *Julius Caesar*, III. 1, 158, 'purpled hands'), in allusion to the famous Phoenician purple. The scholiast explains **πείραν** as *τὴν ληστρικὴν ἐπίθεσιν (piratical descent)*, but here it means the test or contest of two parties, rather than the enterprise of one. In choosing **ἀγάνορα** Pindar probably dwelt on its etymology, and gave its meaning a shade of blame: *too spirited, rash, overdaring*, is the force which we must attach to it. Mr Tyrrell has suggested the translation *brute arbitrament*.

29. **ἀναβάλλομαι**] 'Dicuntur facere precantes id quod precibus effectum volunt', Dissen. After **εἰ δυνατόν, ὡς πόρσιστα** must not be translated by the stereotyped formula *as far as possible*; it means *indefinitely far*.

μοῖραν δ' εὖνομον κ.τ.λ.] *But I beseech thee to bestow on the men of Aetna for many generations the gift of a well governed state* ('*εὖνομια*, *respublica bene constituta legibus*, *qualem Aetnaei Ilie-*

αἰτέω σε παισὶν δαρὸν Αἰτναίων ὀπάζειν,

30

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἀγλαΐαισιν δ' ἀστυνόμοις ἐπιμίξαι στρ. ζ'.
 λαόν. ἐντί τοι φίλιπποί τ' αὐτόθι καὶ κτεάνων ψυχὰς ἔχοντες
 κρέσσονας
 ἄνδρες. ἄπιστον ἔειπ'· αἰδῶς γὰρ ὑπὸ κρύφα κέρδει κλέπτεται,
 ἃ φέρει δόξαν. Χρομίῳ κεν ὑπασπίζων παρὰ πεζοβόαις ἵπποις
 τε ναῶν τ' ἐν μάχαις

roni debebant, Dissen'). δαρὸν does not occur elsewhere in Pindar.

31. ἀγλαΐαισιν δ' ἀστυνόμοις] Schol. καὶ πολλαῖς εὐφροσύναις ἐπιμίξαι τοὺς ὄχλους, εὐφροσύναις δὲ ἀναστρεφόμεναις κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. Dissen, *decora ludicra quae ad urbem pertinent* (ἀστυνόμος *urbicus* opposed to ἀγρόνομος *rusticus*). The scholiast is not quite accurate in his interpretation; though both ἀγλαΐα and εὐφροσύνη are graces, they are distinct, the first being an objective quality, *brightness, splendour*. The subjective side however is implied in λαὸν ἐπιμίξαι. We may render, *to touch the people and their city with splendours*, or, expanding the meaning, *to gladden the people by splendid celebrations in their city*. Successes in games (as opposed to war) are chiefly meant. With ἐπιμίξαι cf. *Ol.* I. 90 ἐν αἰμακουρίαις ἀγλααῖσι μέμικται.

32. φίλιπποι] Responds to ἵππείοις I. 22 and ἵπποι I. 52 (see *Introduction*, p. 165). αὐτόθι, in Aetna.

ψυχὰς κ.τ.λ.] *With souls unenthralled by wealth*; so *Pyth.* VIII. 91 ἔχων κρέσσονα πλούτου μέμιναν. οὐχ ἥσσω is a more common phrase. Here clearly, though the plural is used, Chromius is meant, and the man of moral might (κρέσσονας ἄνδρες) reminds us of the κρέσσων ἄνθρωπος of I. 15.

33. ἄπιστον ἔειπ' κ.τ.λ.] *My words are hard to believe; for love of gain secretly stealth away Aidós, who bringeth glory*. Like νέμεσις, αἰδῶς (sense of shame, feeling for honour) is untranslatable, and it is better to preserve the

Greek in construing; especially in this passage where she is conceived as a goddess (below I. 36). Observe the alliteration of three initial kappas, as if the very letter κ had some mysterious association with stealth and baseness. [The mss. have ὑπόκρυφα, but Boeckh restored ὑπὸ κρύφα from ὑποκλέπτεται in the scholia.]

34. Χρομίῳ κεν κ.τ.λ.] *Wert thou the squire of Chromius, beside footmen or horses, or in conflicts of ships, thou would'st have discerned amid the danger of the shrill battle-whoop, that in war that goddess (Aidós) harnessed his soul with a spearman's might to repel the destruction of the war-god.*

Owing to a false accent in the mss. and the schol., the meaning of this passage has been distorted. Interpreting οὐνεκεν (I. 36) as *because*, scribes and commentators were obliged to take κίνδυνον as the object of ἔκρινας, and ἄν (accented) as the particle, a repetition of κεν. Thus changed the sentence was charged with a far-fetched meaning; and it is difficult to see how the privilege of being Chromius' squire particularly conduced to the discernment of danger (were the perils of battle so hard to discern?) or in what the point of the statement consists. The squire of Chromius would have had a better opportunity than others of judging of the conduct of his master; and it is clear that οὐνεκεν (better perhaps οὐνεκεν as Christ writes) means *that*, a sense which it regularly bears in Homer after verbs of knowing, thinking, &c. The restoration of ἄν (*áná*) is due to Bergk.

ἔκρινας ἂν κίνδυνον ὀξείας αὐτᾶς,

35

οὔνεκεν ἐν πολέμῳ κείνα θεὸς ἔντυεν αὐτοῦ στρ. η'.
 θυμὸν αἰχματὶν ἀμύνειν λοιγὸν Ἐνναλίου. παῦροι δὲ βουλευῆσαι
 φόνου
 παρποδίου νεφέλαν τρέψαι ποτὶ δυσμενέων ἀνδρῶν στίχας
 χερσὶ καὶ ψυχᾷ δυνατοί· λέγεται μὰν Ἐκτορι μὲν κλέος ἀνθῆσαι
 Σκαμάνδρου χεύμασιν

The scholium is curious: τῷ Χρομίῳ συμπάρων ἂν ἐν τε πεζομαχίᾳ καὶ ἵππομαχίᾳ καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ, ἔκρινας οἷός τις ὁ κίνδυνος ὁ τῶν πολέμων. φαίνεται δὲ ὅτι βούλεται αὐτὸν ὡς ἀνδρεῖον καὶ διασώζοντα τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ ἀφύβως παραστήσαι. ἐπεὶ πῶς ἂν ἀγαθὸς γένοιτο κριτῆς μετὰ δέους ἀναστρεφόμενος ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ; That is, the squire of Chromius, secure under his shelter, would be able to make observations at his leisure. The simpler explanation was that one who was always by the side of Chromius would see those deeds of bravery which make battle really dangerous.—With **πεζοβάοις** compare *πεζομάχαι*, *Pyth.* II. 65.—For the office of Aïdōs here the schol. appositely cites E 531

αἰδομένων δ' ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σοοὶ ἢ ἐπέφανται.

θυμὸν αἰχματάν] An echo (as Mezger pointed out) of *μαχατὰν θυμόν*, I. 26. Here however *αἰχματάν* should be taken proleptically with *ἐντυεν*, the clause *ἀμύνειν λοιγὸν* being a further prolepsis. Compare *Coriolanus* I. 4, 25 'with hearts more proof than shields'. For *αἰχματὰς* compare *Nem.* v. 7, *Pyth.* IV. 12, *Ol.* VI. 86.

λοιγός occurs only in this and one other place in Pindar, and a comparison of the two passages is instructive. In *Isth.* VI. 28 we read

ἴστω γὰρ σαφές, ὅστις ἐν ταῦτα νεφέλῃ
 χάλαζαν αἵματος πρὸ φίλας πάτρας
 ἀμύνεται,
 λοιγὸν ἀντιφέρων ἐναντίῳ στρατῷ κ.τ.λ.

In both cases *λοιγός* is brought into direct connexion with the metaphor of a storm-cloud raining blood. For *λοιγός* originally meant the influence of hostile forces of nature, a storm for example or a plague. *λοιγὸν ἀμύνειν*, in the passage before us, is to repel the ruinous storm of Ares. In the Sixth Isthmian, similarly, the picture is a black cloud, hailing blood, and full of destructive influences, the endeavour of each army being to turn the *contagion*, *λοιγός*, upon their opponents.

37. **παῦροι δέ** κ.τ.λ.] For the meaning of this passage see above, p. 166.—**βουλευῆσαι** depends on *δυνατοί*, and **τρέψαι** on *βουλευῆσαι*. Many parallels might be quoted for the metaphor of a war-cloud. In *Isth.* III. 35 we read of *war's rough snowstorm*, *τραχεῖα νιφὰς πολέμοιο*. In Vergil, *Aen.* X. 809, *nubes belli* is different.

παρποδίου is ἀπαξ εἰρημένον. *παρποδίζω* meaning *to impede, entangle the feet*, throws light on the coinage *παρπόδιος*, which clearly signifies *clogging*, or *pestering the feet*.

39. **κλέος ἀνθῆσαι**] *Story* tells that *glory flowered for Hector hard by the pouring waters of Scamander*. Schol. τὸν δὲ Ἐκτορα παρέληφε καὶ οὐκ Αἴαντα ἢ Ἀχιλλέα, τῷ καὶ τὸν Ἐκτορα μεμαχῆσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς καὶ τὸν Χρόμιον.

It has been pointed out in the *Introduction* that Pindar chose the word *ἀνθῆσαι* (similarly *βαθυκρήμνοισι* in the next line), and mentioned the Scamander with a special purpose.

ἀγχοῦ, βαθυκρήμνοισι δ' ἄμφ' ἄκταις Ἑλώρου,

40

ἔνθα ῥέας πόρον ἄνθρωποι καλέοισι, δέδορκεν στρ. θ'.
 παιδὶ τοῦτ' Ἀγησιδάμου φέγγος ἐν ἀλικία πρώτα· τὰ δ' ἄλλαις
 ἀμέραις

40. **βαθυκρήμνοισι**] *By the deep-hanging (deep-cliff'd) banks of Helorus*, where the battle was fought, about 492 B.C., in which Hippocrates of Gela conquered the Syracusans, and so became lord of Syracuse. There Chromius won his first laurels.—*βαθύκρημος* (which occurs in *Isth.* III. 74) responds to *βαθύστερον* in l. 25, one of the many verbal indications of the contrast between Amphiarus and Chromius.

41. **ἔνθα ῥέας**] The MSS. have *ἐνθ' Ῥεῖας*, a reading condemned by the metre and incomprehensible. We cannot hesitate to follow Bergk in reading *ἔνθα ῥέας* (accepted by Mezger). The sea of Rhea is the Ionian sea, as we learn from Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 826 ἦξας πρὸς μέγαν κόλπον Ῥέας, 'the bay of Rhea', being interpreted in the following lines as *μυχὸς Ἰόνιος*. The use of *πόρος* presents no difficulty, cf. *Nem.* IV. 53 πρὸς Ἰόνιον πόρον. The source of the MSS. corruption is indicated in a scholium:

ὁ δὲ τῆς Ῥεῖας πόρος ἀνεξήγητός ἐστι· διὸ καὶ ἀδηλον εἶτε Ῥεῖας εἶτε Ῥεῖας λεκτέον εἶτε ὑφ' ἐν Ῥεῖαςπορον. It is clear that Ῥέας was written Ῥεῖας, and, the phrase not being understood, the words were falsely divided.

The idiom *ἔνθα πόρον καλέοισι* for *ἔνθα ὁ...πόρος καλούμενός ἐστι*, is too familiar to need illustration. *ἔνθα* means of course that the Helorus flows into the Ionian sea, and may be rendered *at whose mouth*. For the bearing of this clause on the meaning of the hymn, see above *Introduction*, p. 167, and below note on l. 47.

42. **τοῦτο φέγγος**] *Even such a light (fame, like Hector's) began to shine in*

his early manhood for the son of Agesidemus. *φέγγος δέδορκεν* is the language of the mysteries, and an examination of passages in Pindar where *φέγγος* occurs shows that he constantly used it with a mystical reference.

(1) *Ol.* II. 56 ἐνμώτατον ἀνδρὶ φέγγος. Here the force of the phrase depends on the mystical meaning of *φέγγος*; 'a light to a man, in the deepest sense', that is, not the vulgar, superficial, but the technical, mystical sense.

(2) *Pyth.* IX. 90 Χαρίτων κελαδενῶν μὴ με λίποι καθαρὸν φέγγος. The epithet *καθαρὸν*, of religious significance, indicates the religious sense of *φέγγος*.

(3) *Pyth.* VIII. 97,

ἐπάμεροι· τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ
 ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλ' ὅταν αἴγλα διόσδοτος
 ἔλθῃ,

λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ
 μέλιχος αἰὼν.

This is obviously a passage in which Pindar might well have availed himself of language associated with the deeper 'cathartic' teaching of the mysteries, and the *αἴγλα διόσδοτος*, splendour bursting upon darkness, suggests a mystical drama. It is also to be observed that *μέλιχος αἰὼν* is equivalent to *αἰὼν ἀμέρα* in l. 44 of the ode which is now before us.

(4) *Frag.* 153

δενδρέων δὲ νομὸν πολυγαθῆς Διόνυσος
 αἰξάνοι

ἀγνὸν φέγγος ὑπώρας,

a passage which Plutarch (*de Iside et Osiride*, c. 35) quotes to shew that Dionysus was esteemed by the Greeks lord not only of wine but of all moisture in nature. These wider functions were

πολλὰ μὲν ἐν κονίᾳ χέρσῳ, τὰ δὲ γείτονι πόντῳ φάσομαι.
ἐκ πόνων δ', οὐ σὺν νεότατι γένωνται σὺν τε δίκᾳ, τελέθει πρὸς
γῆρας αἰὼν ἄμέρα.

ἴστω λαχὼν πρὸς δαιμόνων θαυμαστὸν ὄλβον.

45

εἰ γὰρ ἅμα κτεάνοις πολλοῖς ἐπίδοξον ἄρῃται

στρ. ι'.

doubtless explained at large in the mysteries of Dionysus. The description of the god as the 'holy light of summer' certainly sounds like an echo from some mystic ritual.

In *Pyth.* IV. 111 (ἐπεὶ πᾶμπρωτον εἶδον φέγγος, *the light of day*) it is not used in a metaphorical sense. See also *Nem.* III. 64 and IV. 13.

42. τὰ δ' ἄλλαις κ.τ.λ.] *But his exploits wrought on other days, many on the dusty dry land, some on the adjoining sea, will I declare.* The schol. wrongly takes ἄλλαις ἡμέραις with φάσομαι, and reads χέρσῳ for χέρσῳ, making κονία a substantive. Mr Fennell prefers to regard κονία as a substantive, χέρσῳ as the epithet; but χέρσος is always a substantive in Pindar. The adjective κονία (*pulverulentus*) is added to suggest the toil of battle. Mezger indeed explains the phrase 'im Gegensatz zu den feuchten Ufern des Helorus', but this seems extremely doubtful. The battle chiefly referred to in the words γείτονι πόντῳ was that of Cumae, in which the Etruscans were defeated.

As to φάσομαι (compare αὐδάσομαι, *Ol.* II. 101) I may refer, for the vexed question of the future middle, to Dr Donaldson and to Mr Fennell.

44. ἐκ πόνων δ' κ.τ.λ.] *But from labours, which are wrought with youth and justice siding, there ensueth even unto old age a calm life.* Youth and Justice are conceived as 'siding champions' (see above, *Introduction*, p. 167). τελέθω is a poetical word for the result of a process. αἰὼν is found feminine also in *Pyth.* IV. 186 and V. 7 but masc. *Pyth.* VIII. 97

and elsewhere. Other noticeable genders in Pindar are ἡ κίων (*Pyth.* I. 19, etc.), ἡ αἰθήρ (*Ol.* I. 5, XIII. 88, ὁ αἰθήρ *Nem.* VIII. 41), ἡ Τάρταρος (*Pyth.* I. 15), ἡ Μαραθῶν (*Ol.* XIII. 110).—In the scholia it is suggested that ἡμέρα is a substantive: ἐπειδὴν τινες ἐν νεότητι πεπονηκότες ὥσι καὶ βεβιωκότες δικαίως, ἡμέρα μία ἐν τῷ γῆρα συγκριτικὴ ἐστὶ πρὸς ὅλον τὸν αἰῶνα, and other explanations also are put forward there.

45. ἴστω κ.τ.λ.] *Let him (Chromius) know that he hath won from the gods wondrous wealth (a blissful lot).* θαυμαστός had mystical associations for the Greeks, who used it of superhuman things revealed; and if we were called upon to render 'beatific vision', θαυμαστός might be used.

46. εἰ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] *For if a man win glory and repute with great riches, further than this there is no way open for a mortal to attain with his two feet yet another (higher) summit.*

There is a serious difficulty in the text here, and editors have not fully met it. B ἔχει κῶδος, οὐκ ἔτι πρόσω θνατὸν κ.τ.λ., D has οὐκ ἔστι πρόσω. Both these readings are unmetrical, and emendations have been proposed: Triclinius οὐκ ἔτ' ἐστὶ πρόσω (πρόσω), Boeckh οὐκ ἔστιν τι πρόσω, Hermann οὐκ ἔστιν τὸ πρόσω, Mommsen οὐκ ἔστιν πρόσω τὸν, etc. But none of these suggestions meets the difficulty. Triclinius' reading is impossible because there is an ἔτι already in the line; Boeckh's τι is merely 'padding'; and obvious objections may be made to the other conjectures.

In one point all the editors concur,

κῦδος, οὐ πόρσω πόρος τις θνατὸν ἔτι σκοπιᾶς ἄλλας ἐφάψασθαι ποδοῖν.

ἡσυχία δὲ φιλεῖ μὲν συμπόσιον· νεοθαλῆς δ' αὖξεται

namely in retaining ἔστι of D, and here I dissent. More than once already have we met cases in which the reading of D is merely an emendation of a corruption in B β, and in the present instance it is evident that ἔστι is a correction of ἔτι, made for the sake of the sense. Consequently ἔστι has no real MSS. authority. Nor is it at all likely that ἔτι in B β is a corruption of ἔστι. For why should ἔστι, which makes obvious sense, have been changed to ἔτι, which yields no construction, especially when another ἔτι followed? It may be said that ἔστι and ἔτι are very like each other; but in the case of such simple words similarity of the *ductus litterarum* is hardly worth considering, if there is no further motive for confusion. In any case the mere retention of ἔστι does not satisfy the metre, so that we may safely seek for some other clue.

In the schol. a parallel passage is quoted from the Third Nemean: ἀνπέρ-βλητος γάρ, φησὶν, αὕτη ἡ ἀρετή. παρῑοικε δὲ τῇ ἄνν διανοίᾳ· Εἰ δ' ἔων καλὸς ἔρδων τ' εἰκότα μορφῇ, οὐκέτι πόρσω, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. This suggests the origin of the reading of the MSS. Either this passage was written in a marginal note, or some one, with this passage in his mind, jotted οὐκέτι πόρσω, to indicate that ἔτι (θνατὸν ἔτι) should be joined with οὐ. This note crept into the text, perhaps to fill up a lacuna.

We are left then with the words οὐ πόρσω, and must now consider whether it is possible to restore the three missing syllables (~--). In most cases the only cause of the loss of a word in the *middle* of a line is parablepsia, when two words come together similarly spelt. Here fortunately we have not to seek far for a word, similar to πόρσω, which will yield

admirable sense. Writing

ΟΓΠΟΡΟΠΟΡΟΤΙC

we see how easily a transcriber might have unconsciously omitted πόρος. Then τις, left without any construction, was designedly removed, and ἔτι introduced from the margin.

Thus I arrive at the reading in the text; but, once it is found, I discover, owing to Pindar's careful mode of writing, 'internal evidence' to support it. The metaphor is from climbing mountains. A man, having reached that height of welfare, to which e.g. Chromius has climbed, need not hope to reach any higher summit; there is no path beyond the point attained (for σκοπιᾶ meaning *mountain-summit* see *fr.* 101 σκοπιαῖσιν μεγάλας ὁρέων ὑπερῆστα). The career of Chromius has been a gradual mounting higher and higher; when he reached one pinnacle, he bridged a passage to another; now he is on the utmost. His first great success was won at Helorus, near the *passage of Rhea*,—an actual physical passage to further heights of glory won in battles on sea or land. But now that he has scaled those heights, there is no other *passage of Rhea*,—as it were, no other world to conquer. Thus the emendation of l. 47 and the Πέας πόρος of l. 41 mutually illuminate each other; it is seen that the reference to the Ionian Sea is not a useless ornament, in the style of modern art, but has a definite, really telling, function in the design of the hymn.

πόρσω echoes πόρσιστα of l. 29. Chromius might look on a war with Carthage as the way to a higher summit.

48. ἄσυχία κ.τ.λ.] *Repose* (*peace*, the αἰὼν ἡμέρα of l. 44) *loveth the banquet, and by virtue of soft lays victory buddeth afresh*; γῆα, *the voice twaxeth bold beside the host*. νεοθαλῆς is proleptic. μαλθακῇ

μαλθακῇ νικαφορία σὺν αἰοιδᾷ· θαρσαλέα δὲ παρὰ κρατῆρι φωνὰ
γίνεται.

ἐγκιρνάτω τίς νιν, γλυκὺν κόμου προφάταν,

50

ἀργυρέαισι δὲ νωμάτω φιάλαισι βιατὰν στρ. ια'.
ἀμπέλου παῖδ', ἅς ποθ' ἵπποι κτησάμεναι Χρομίῳ πέμψαν
θεμιπλέκοις ἅμα

Λατοῖδα στεφάνοις ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς Σικυῶνος. Ζεῦ πάτερ,
εὐχομαι ταύταν ἀρετὰν κελαδῆσαι σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν, ὑπὲρ πολλῶν
τε τιμαλφεῖν λόγοις

αἰοιδᾷ means *soothing* or *comforting* *descant*, but we may adopt Milton's *soft lay*. Compare *Pyth.* VIII. 31 φθέγματι μαλθακῶ. For the metaphor see *Nem.* VIII. 40.

50. ἐγκιρνάτω κ.τ.λ.] *Mix it* (the bowl), *sweet inspirer of the comus, and dispense the potent (overbearing) child of the vine in the silver cups, which once on a time his mares won for Chromius and sent to him from sacred Sicyon with crowns of Apollo by Themis' plight.*

Mezger wrongly translates **προφάταν** 'den süßen Vorboten des Festes', attributing to *προ-* the sense which it bears in *prophet*. **ἐγκιρνάτω τις** is the Greek idiom, where we use the second person imperative.

As wine is called the son of the vine, so the vine is called the 'wild mother' of wine in Aesch. *Pers.* 614. **βιατὰν** (schol. τὸν βιάζεσθαι εἰδότες καὶ εἰς μέθην ἄγειν), a Pindaric word, suggests that Dionysus, not the lightning of Zeus (παμβία κεραυνῶ l. 24), is to master Chromius. The contrast with the heroes who marched against Thebes is also kept up by the re-spension of ἵπποι with ἵππεσις in l. 22.

52. **θεμιπλέκοις**] Themis was associated with Apollo, as we are told in a scholium: καθὸ πάρεδρός ἐστι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἢ Θέμις χάριν τοῦ χρηστηρίου· καὶ γὰρ ἦν προφήτις, and in *Pyth.* XI. 9 we read ὄφρα Θέμιν ἱερὰν Πυθῶνά τε καὶ ὀρθοῖκαν γὰς ὀμφαλὸν κελαδῆγον. It is

appropriate then that she should be conceived as the weaver of Apollo's garlands—the due twining thereof being a poetical symbol that they were fairly won ('wohl erworben', Mezger). There is a hint thrown out in the scholia that Pindar is alluding to a report that the Pythian games at Delphi were not fairly conducted by the Phocians (χρήμασιν ἀνύεσθαι).—We must not forget that Dika (who plays a part in this hymn) and Eunomia (referred to in l. 29) were daughters of Themis and closely associated with her, compare *Ol.* IX. 15 and XIII. 8, also *fr.* I. 5; moreover **θέμις** and **δίκη** are called by Maximus of Tyre, *μυστικὰ καὶ θεοπρεπῆ ὀνόματα*.

The reading of the mss. **ἀμφί** (for ἅμα) suits neither sense nor metre, and Schmid rightly restored **ἅμα** from the scholiast. Letters and syllables at the end of a line run the risk of effacement, and here it would seem that the final A was obliterated and AM incorrectly supplemented by φι.

54. εὐχομαι κ.τ.λ.] *I pray, O father Zeus, that such excellence as this may be the theme of my hymn, the Graces assisting, and that beyond many poets I may worship Victory by my words, shooting very near to the mark of the Muses.*

ταύταν ἀρετάν, such excellence as that of victory in games, is opposed, as a more desirable theme of song, to excellence in war, and the opposition is indi-

Νίκαν, ἀκοντίζων σκοποῦ' ἄγχιστα Μοισᾶν.

55

cated by the responson of ταύταν in l. 54 to ταύταν in 29 (both occurring in prayers to Zeus) as Mezger has pointed out. In *Pyth.* II. 63 we find κελαδεῖν associated with ἀρετά (ἀμφ' ἀρετᾶ κελαδέων), and both words, I think, had mystical associations. In *Pyth.* IX. 89 we have Χαρίτων κελαδεννᾶν.

τιμαλφεῖν, a word of peculiar solemnity, (a favourite of Aeschylus, occurring only once in Pindar, otherwise rare) is by no means a synonym of the vulgar τιμᾶν, and we lose its flavour if we translate it by *honour*. It is almost invariably used of homage paid to divine beings. In Aristotle's *Politics*, Bk. IV. 15, we have τιμαλφεῖν τοὺς θεούς, sounding like a technical expression; in Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 922 θεούς τοι τοῖσδε τιμαλφεῖν χρεών, *Eumenides*, 15 μολόντα δ' αὐτὸν τιμαλφεῖ λέως (of Apollo), *ib.* 807 ὑπ' ἀστῶν τῶνδε τιμαλφουμένας (of the Eumenides), *ib.* διοσδότοις σκήπτροισι τιμαλφούμενον (of Agamemnon, but διοσδότοις is significant). As the word comes from τιμαλφής which means *fetching a price, costly*, our best translation will be *worship*, which is not only a most solemn word but suggests *worth* as τιμαλφεῖν suggests *price*. If we were required to render in Greek 'Thy most precious blood' or 'Thy precious death', αἷμα τιμαλφέστατον and τιμαλφής σφαγῇ would be suitable equivalents.

This shade of meaning of τιμαλφεῖν has a bearing on the text of the passage before us. It proves that νικᾶν the

reading of the MSS. is wrong and that νίκαν (rather Νίκαν) the emendation of Ceperinus (and recognized in the scholia) is right. τιμαλφεῖν demands as its object the name of a divine being. In the passage of Aeschylus, where it is used of Agamemnon, he is expressly described as a vicegerent of Zeus, and the verb felicitously suggests the divinity that hedges a king. And the MSS. themselves let the secret out. Had Pindar really written ὑπὲρ πολλῶν νικᾶν, why should πολλῶν have become πολλῶν and νικᾶν remained unaltered? On the other hand, if Pindar wrote ὑπὲρ πολλῶν νίκαν, it is quite intelligible that a scribe who did not understand the phrase ὑπὲρ πολλῶν (in proof that such want of insight existed I may point to the scholia) altered νίκαν to νικᾶν without at the same time altering πολλῶν, and supplied ἀρετάν as the object of τιμαλφεῖν. For ὑπὲρ in the sense of superiority see *Isth.* II. 36 and *frag.* 61.

55. σκοποῦ'] The MSS. give σκοποῦ. Ahrens restored the rarer form of the genitive, *metri gratia*, and this is better than Bergk's σκοπῶ, for we find ἄγχιστα with the genitive in *Isth.* II. 10 ῥῆμ' ἀλαθείας ἐτᾶς ἄγχιστα βαῖνον. For the metaphor cf. *Nem.* VI. 27. To hit the mark of the Muses would be to write a perfect poem.—All the MSS. have Μοισᾶν and we need not pause to consider Μοῖσαν and Μοῖσαις, worthless readings discussed in the scholia.

[NEMEAN] X.

ODE IN HONOUR OF A VICTORY IN WRESTLING WON AT
THE HECATOMBAEA OF ARGOS BY THEAEUS, SON
OF ULIAS, AN ARGIVE.

INTRODUCTION.

MORE honoured by time and richer than any Greek city, except perhaps Thebes, in mythical associations,—impressing the visitor by numerous tombs, *herœa*, and temples ascribed to legendary founders,—Argos with its surrounding territory was regarded as holy ground, dedicated to Hera. As you approached Mycenæ from the north, you might feel that you were entering ‘precincts’ (*Ἀργείων τέμενος*), and the city had, conspicuous enough, vestiges of her peculiar history, and perhaps a strange flavour of her own, which a visitor would notice, just as nowadays we are conscious of a certain singularity in the atmosphere of such towns as Bruges or Westphalian Münster. In the beginning of the fifth century, she took a part in the general spreading and developing of the art of sculpture, winning fame as the seat of the school of Ageladas, who taught Polycletus: and thus she found an opportunity of decorating her streets and buildings with befitting works in bronze and marble, a new brilliant expression of her ancient distinctions.

While the city could point to many passages in her early history as proof of a ‘surplus of grace’ vouchsafed from Zeus, there were Argive families which preserved old tales specially connected with themselves—these too contributing to determine the atmosphere of the place. In Pindar’s time there was a family there, of unrecorded name, which looked back fondly to a day when a remote ancestor, one Pamphaes, entertained at his house two young strangers, who proved to be Castor and Polydeukes, henceforward gratefully regarded by the descendants as their approved patrons. Two members of this family, Thrasyclus and Antias, distinguished themselves unusually by successes at public games, and a lady, perhaps their niece, who married a certain Ulias, might imagine that through her rather than her husband was bequeathed the quality of athletic excellence to their son Theaeus¹, and a portion of the virtue of the Dioscori.

¹ The date of the ode is supposed to fall between *Ol.* 78. 1, the year of the ‘reduction of Mycenæ’, and *Ol.* 80. 4 (456 B.C.), the year of the battle of Tanagra,

in which the Argives and the Thebans were opposing parties. As to the prior limit Dissen writes ‘Constanti traditione Persidae olim non Argis vixerunt sed

In the ode, which we are about to consider, commemorative of a wrestling victory won by this Theaeus at the *Hecatombaea*, a festival of Hera in Argos, there is no direct description of the personal qualities of the victor, so that we can only judge of them by inference from the imposing array of his successes, and his ambition to crown them by a yet unachieved Olympian victory. These successes, the distinctions of his mother's kin, and the glories of his city, were in themselves material sufficient for an ode; but to these, Pindar, taking advantage of the special relation of Castor and Polydeukes to the house of the victor's mother, has adroitly superadded a myth, including the passage of Castor's death-wound, the strife of Polydeukes with the sons of Aphareus, and Castor's resurrection through the intercession of his brother. In fact the Ode is divided metrically into five systems; in the first are enumerated the great heroes and the fair women of Argos; in the second the exploits of Theaeus are celebrated and his ambitions encouraged; in the third his mother's kindred are congratulated on agonistic victories and on their favoured ancestor Pamphaes, this incident bringing us to the Tyndaridae, whose story is told in the last two systems, the fourth closing with the death of the sons of Aphareus, and the fifth containing the relation of the successful intercession of Polydeukes. But these five parts are interdependent and closely connected in thought, by means of parallel details, subordinate to a central motive¹, *the victor's ambition to conquer at Olympia*. The reflexion that the gods are faithful might encourage Theaeus to count on the aid of the Tyndarids, and this idea is made prominent in the myth.

This legend, handled here in Pindar's happiest style, and touched in Greek measure with pathos, is for a modern reader perhaps one of the most attractive passages in Pindar, and it admits of dislocation from its context, to be read as an independent tale. In Greek mythology those twin riders,—suggesting the medieval *Doppelgänger*,—are engaging figures, tempting us to think into their legend an element of that which we call 'romance,' especially through their mutual devotion, stronger than death, and their strange double life, passed in heaven and beneath the earth on alternate days.

Mycenis et Tirynthe; tamen hunc Pindarus, ἱστορικώτατος poeta, Amphitryonem Argis dicit nutritum', and attempts to explain this difficulty by the supposition that the Ode was written when Mycenae and Tiryns had been subjected to Argos. But this is not cogent, and Mezger justly remarks on the freedom 'welche sich die Griechen in solchen Dingen erlaubten'. In any case the reduction of Mycenae and *synoecismus* of Argolis probably took place at a much earlier period (see Mahaffy, *Hermathena*, III. 60 sqq.).

¹ I do not mean to say that this is the

Grundgedanke, but it is a motive which has determined the whole moulding of the hymn. Dissen, to explain the ode, resorts to the gratuitous hypothesis that Theaeus had distinguished himself by some exploit revealing brotherly love (*fraterni amoris documenta*). L. Schmidt and Friederichs find the main idea in l. 54 καὶ μὲν θεῶν πιστὸν γένος, and Mezger approves of this interpretation, working it out more fully and recognizing that the truth of the myth 'soll seine Hoffnung auf einen olympischen Sieg stärken'.

This divided life may be, as mythological students suggest, in its actual origin a 'nature-myth,' meaning the succession of light and darkness; certainly it might well serve, like that succession itself, as a poetical emblem of the alternation of hardships and joys, which those who would lead full lives must accept as a condition. 'The sons of Tyndareus,' as Pindar calls them, using this name in preference to the more usual designation *Dioscori* 'sons of Zeus¹,'—perhaps from an inclination to emphasize a link that bound them with men,—had moreover the repute of being present saviours and aiders, especially to mariners, thus exercising their renowned strength in beneficent ways.

Inviting the Graces to sing the praises of Argos², the poet ushers his mythical reminiscences as it were into the air of art, associates them at least with the works which the sculptors of the day were executing. The Argives could hardly hear of Danaus and his daughters or of the tale of Perseus, without thinking of reliefs recently wrought to adorn their temples; for their city was 'ablaze with countless works immortalising brave deeds.' And thus Pindar prepares a gracious background. Danaus³ first and his fifty daughters, sitting on bright seats; then the quest of Perseus⁴, represented perhaps on horseback (as in a contemporary clay-relief of Melos), in his dropped hand the head of Medusa, 'the contriveress'; Io and her son Epaphus, founders of Egyptian cities; and, meetly in a place apart from her sisters, the singular daughter of Danaus⁵ who declined her father's command and spared her husband. Next comes Diomedes, whom Athena made a 'deathless god'; then Amphiaraus, whom earth received in her bosom through the kind bolts of Zeus; then Alcmene and Danae, to

¹ Διὸς κοῦροι *Hymn. Hom.* 33, 1; Διδσκόροι in early inscriptions; Doric (in Sparta) Διδσκόροι. In early times, and especially in Laconia, the name *Tyndaridae* was the most important designation. See Roscher's *Lexikon der gr. und röm. Mythologie*, p. 1154; where we read: 'Das Natursubstrat ihres Wesens ist im allgemeinen ohne Zweifel das Licht, doch nicht in seiner Ruhe, sondern in seinem Übergange vom und zum Dunkel'.

² An Argive would remember the ancient statues of the Graces which stood in the pronaos of the Heraeum, a temple of Hera near Mt Euboea. See Pausanias II. 17, 3, ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τῇ μὲν Χάρτες, ἀγάλματά ἐστιν ἀρχαῖα, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ κλίνη τῆς Ἥρας. In this temple was afterwards placed the great sitting figure of Hera, in gold and ivory, wrought by Polycletus; her crown was adorned

with sculptured representations of the Graces and the Hours. Here again we see the connexion of Hera with the Graces.

³ Danaus was said to have built the temple to Apollo Lycius (Paus. II. 19, 3) at Argos, where there was a θρόνος Δαναοῦ.

⁴ The ἥρωον of Perseus was on the left side of the road from Mycenae to Argos (*ib.* 18, 1). For Medusa's head see my note.

⁵ In the temple of Apollo Lycius there was an image (ξόανον) of Aphrodite said to have been dedicated by Hypermnestra, as a monument of her acquittal for sparing her husband (*ib.* 19, 6). For the same cause she built a temple to Artemis Peitho, where her tomb was shown (*ib.* 21, 1, 2).

whom Zeus revealed himself, proving that the repute of Argos for supremacy in the beauty of its women was really true, inasmuch as the supreme god selected them; and after these came Talaus and Lynceus, also notably favoured by Zeus, who, as Pindar curiously expresses it, 'married the fruit of their minds to unswerving justice.'

This 'dream of fair women' and heroes occupies the first strophe and antistrophos: the crowning grace, reserved for the epode, was that bestowed upon Amphitryon, who, when his expedition against the Teleboae had been successful, was permitted to succeed Zeus in the embraces of Alcmene. The king of the immortals had come to his house in his dress and favour, clad in brazen armour, *with the dreadless seed of Heracles in his loins*. And the marriage of Heracles and Hebe, for Pindar a type of beatitude,—with a picture of the bride, supreme in beauty, moving beside her mother Hera, as she was constantly represented in art,—forms a kind of consummation for the eyes of pious Argives to rest upon.

The *brass* armour worn by Zeus, in this epiphany, in imitation of a mortal, sounds a note which recurs again and again through the Ode¹. Pindar sometimes selects a material thing, whose reappearance at certain intervals—almost like a physical touch—reminds us of an idea that we might forget. Brass lent itself without constraint to the central idea of this hymn, as an emblem; for, associated with contention, and as a baser metal than gold, it could suggest the state of a mortal not yet deified, or of an athlete not yet an Olympic victor, such a victory being symbolised by gold elsewhere². Figuratively, one might say that the Ode dealt with a possible transmutation of brass to the more precious metal. The sheen of the brass—like a torch passed on in a torch race—flashes from system to system, until in the last verses it grows dim in the intenser light of 'the golden houses of heaven'.

Observing that he has not exhausted the praise of Argos, the poet passes from the marriage of Heracles to the achievements of the victor, Theaeus, in wrestling. The bridge to the new subject³ is made by a general observation, which seems to be suggested by the praises of the city, but is immediately applied with emphasis to the praises of the man. 'Moreover men's envy is grievous to encounter; but nevertheless awake the lyre, and turn to thoughts of wrestlings.' The list of victories follows; two (the occasion of the ode), won at the Argive Hecatombaea, where the prize was a shield of *brass*; one at Delphi; three at the Isthmian, and three at the Nemean games. Moreover he had been twice victorious at the Panathenaea, and here was a good

¹ The word occurs in every system:

(First epode) l. 14 ἐν χαλκείois ὄπλοις.

(Second strophe) l. 22 ἀγών τοι χάλκεος.

(Third antistroph.) l. 45 χαλκὸν μυρίον.

(Fourth stroph.) l. 60 χαλκείας λόγχας.

(Fourth epode) l. 70 ἐν πλευραῖσι χαλκόν.

(Fifth epode) l. 90 χαλκομίτρα Κάστορος.

² *Ol.* l. 1 ὁ δὲ χρυσός—διαπρέπει κ.τ.λ.

³ Mezger divides the ode thus:

ἀρχά, 1—18; κατατροπά, 19—22; ὁμ-
φαλός, 22—48; μετακατατροπά, 49—54;
σφραγίς, 55—90.

The ἀρχά, he remarks, and the σφραγίς contain the mythical portions of the hymn, so that in its structure it resembles the Ninth Pythian.

augury for his future success at Olympia; for the prize at the Athenian festival, a jar of olive oil, might be considered an omen or earnest of an olive-crown. Professing that Theaeus hesitates to utter his heart's desire, Pindar confides it indirectly to Zeus, whose graciousness in olden time to the men and women of Argos might well encourage a supplication. An Olympic victory would be 'the perfection' (τέλος) for the career of Theaeus; and by using this word, appropriate to marriage, Pindar suggests Hera 'who perfecteth' (τελεία, l. 18), and implies that an olive-wreath would be the heavenly reward of this man, even as the marriage with Hebe was the meed of Heracles. And it is signified that Theaeus is prepared, like Heracles, to endure labours, in no wise expecting to enter into a heritage of glory without hardships, but quite aware of the unexempt condition of mortal frailty. 'Great is the glory, for the strife is hard'; and the glory desired by Theaeus is the highest attainable, a supremacy at the games which Heracles instituted at Pisa.

In reflecting on the athletic powers of Theaeus it was natural to remember the similar exploits of Antias and Thrasyclus, two kinsmen of his mother, and to record them was a compliment required by the usages of the epinician hymn. Thus a hereditary transmission of muscular qualities justifies, as it were, the success of the victor; but Pindar, going a step further back, explains the athletic vein in the family by a divine visit, vouchsafed to a remote ancestor by those lords of athletic contention, Castor and Polydeukes. Preparing the way for this incident, which he reserves for the epode of the system, he opens the subject by declaring that Honour, won in games, is a frequent visitant 'of thy mother's family,' in company with the Graces and the Tyndarids. 'If I were a kinsman of Antias and Thrasyclus I should make bold not to conceal the light of my eyes.' A catalogue of their victories follows.

In the third strophe and third antistrophos, there is imagined a parallelism between the distinctions of the kinsfolk of Theaeus and the distinctions of Argos, which were rehearsed in the first strophe and antistrophos.

(1) The influence of the Graces is shed over both records¹. In the concernment of art they were associated with the city favoured by Hera; in the concernment of athletic prowess they are associated with the family favoured by the Tyndarids.

l. 1. Χάριτες.

l. 38. Χαρίτεσσι.

(2) Thrasyclus, whose name connotes inherent bravery, responds to the brave deeds of the Argive heroes.

l. 3. μυρίαῖς ἔργων θρασέων ἔνεκεν (1st strophe).

l. 39. ἀξιοθείην κεν ἔὼν Θρασύκλου (3rd strophe).

¹ Mezger, remarking that the mention of the Graces in v. 37 'weist auf v. 1 zurück', says: 'Die Unterstützung der Chariten verdankt Theäos seiner Zugehörigkeit zu der Stadt, die sie besonders ve-

reht...; die Unterstützung der Tyndariden, die von seiner Familie besonders verehrt wurden, ist ein Erbe von seinen Vorfahren' etc.

(3) Victories won in chariot-races,—literal *carryings of victory*—by these men, Antias and Thrasyclus (perhaps others too), attest the proverbial excellence of Argive horses; just as the epiphanies of Zeus, the supreme god, attested the supremacy in beauty of Argive women. Here the fifth line of the third strophe answers the fifth of the first antistrophe.

l. 11. Ζεὺς ἐπ' Ἀλκμήναν Δανάαν τε μολῶν ἐτὸν κατέφανε λόγον.

l. 41¹. ὁμμάτων. νικαφορίαις γὰρ ἐταῖς Προίτιο τόδ' ἵπποτρόφον ἄστν κ.τ.λ.

(4) The prizes in brass tripods and shields won by the athletes are beyond number, like the works of art which represent the worthies of Argos.

l. 3. μυρίαῖς ἔργων θρασέων ἔνεκεν.

l. 45. ἀλλὰ χαλκὸν μυρίον οὐ δυνατόν.

(5) An enumeration of these prizes would be too long; even as the tale of Perseus is a long one.

l. 4. μακρὰ μὲν τὰ Περσέος ἀμφὶ Μεδοίσας Γοργόνος.

l. 46. ἐξελέγχειν· μακροτέρας γὰρ ἀριθμῆσαι σχολᾶς.

(6) Victories won at the 'high situate' cities of Achaea, at Tegea and at Clitor, contributed these things of bronze; as the cities founded in Egypt by Io and Epaphus supplied subjects for art.

l. 5². πολλὰ δ' Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰὼ κτίσεν ἄστυ ταῖς Ἐπάφου παλάμαις.

l. 47. ὄντε Κλείτωρ καὶ Τεγέα καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ὑψίβατοι πόλεις.

Having told the achievements by which the victor's kinsfolk had gone beyond the mark of ordinary successes, Pindar proceeds, in the epode, to narrate how Castor came, and his brother Polydeukes, to the house of Pamphaes, as guests; a visit which makes us cease to marvel that his descendants are goodly athletes, seeing that those twin beings, who preside over games 'in conjunction with Hermes and Heracles,' preeminently care for the interests of just men; and the gods are really true to such a claim as that of guest-pledge.

The first epode and the third epode answer too. Pamphaes entertaining the divine brothers seems to hold parley, across the interspace, with Amphitryon, whose house was visited by Zeus. And just as the coming of Zeus was an event ultimately followed by the marriage of Heracles, so the coming of the Tyndarids was an event which may signify an Olympic victory in the future. This approximation of thoughts is clearly indicated by the position of the name of Heracles in the same foot of two corresponding lines.

l. 17. σπέρμ' ἀδείμαντον φέρων Ἡρακλέος· οὐ κατ' Ὀλυμπον—.

l. 53. μοῖραν Ἐρμῆ καὶ σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ διέποντι θάλειαν.

It is observable too that μοῖρα θάλεια is an expression suited to the marriage of Heracles, and that it suggests the μοῖρα ἐσλῶν, pertaining to Argos, mentioned in l. 20³.

¹ For the reading see note.

² For the reading see note.

³ ll. 19, 20, though in the second

strophe, are really connected with the preceding system.

A second responsion confirms this explication of the chain of thought. The first epode ends with the addition of Hebe

ἔστι, καλλίστα θεῶν (l. 18) ;

the third epode affirms, at its close, the truth of the gods,

καὶ μὲν θεῶν πιστὸν γένος (l. 54).

Like Heracles, Theaeus has a claim to the grace of the gods¹.

The story of Castor and Polydeukes, related in the fourth and fifth systems, illustrates the declaration that the gods are faithful. It begins and ends with the strange life of the brothers,—a twi-life, we might call it, alternating between hollow subterranean places in Therapna where they lived indeed, but with scarce conscious life, and the palace of Olympus. This curious condition came about in this wise. The brothers, though peers in strength and undis severed comrades, were not quite peers in the accident of birth ; the two names, which they jointly bore, Tyndarids and Dioscori, pointing to this difference, as Castor was the true Tyndarid and Polydeukes the true son of Zeus. Thus Castor had a mortal quality in his nature and was doomed to death. But Polydeukes, his comrade in all uses since their associated birth, would have preferred sheer death to life unshared by his brother ; and when the fatal hour for Castor came, Polydeukes, true to his comradeship, won the consent of Zeus to share his own inheritance of heavenly life with Castor, on his part sharing Castor's inheritance of subterranean existence. Such was the bargain with fate.

Before I point out in detail the significance of this legend for Pindar's purpose, it will be well to reproduce it in his own words.

‘ Changing their abode daily, alternately they dwell in the house of their father Zeus, and on the next day are hidden in the hiding places of the earth in the hollows of Therapna, fulfilling a like destiny ; for when Castor perished in war, Polydeukes chose this appointment of life, rather than to be absolutely a god and inhabit heaven. For with the point of a brass spear, Idas, angered in some matter touching oxen, wounded Castor. Them (the Tyndaridae) Lynceus, who had a keener eye than all men on earth, looking abroad from Mt Taygetus, saw sitting in the trunk of an oak. And with storming feet they twain came speedily, those sons of Speed, to the place and did swiftly contrive a great thing to do, and suffered dire distress by the hands of Zeus. Instantly came Leda's son (Polydeukes) in pursuit ; and these (Idas and Lynceus) stood opposite, hard by their father's sepulchre. Thence catching up a headstone, grace of Hades, a polish'd rock, they hurled it against the chest of Polydeukes ; but felled him not nor made him to flinch. And then rushing forward he plunged brass in the

¹ Observe the following responsions of phrase:

l. 14 ἔκετ' ἐς κείνου γενεάν :: l. 51 ἐγγενὲς ἔμμεν.

l. 16 ἐσσηλθεν :: l. 49 ἐλθόντος.

I have pointed out in note on l. 37 that many of the expressions at the end of the third system echo the words at its beginning (στροφή γ).

sides of Lynceus. But against Idas Zeus drave a fire-charged lurid thunder-bolt ; and the brothers were consumed together all alone in the lonely place. For men, a strife with stronger beings is hard to converse with.

(Strophe 5.) Quickly returned the Tyndarid to the night of his brother, and found him not yet dead, but shuddering in his jaws with hard-drawn breath. Shedding hot tears and moaning heavily, he lifted up his voice and cried ; "*O father, son of Cronus, what, oh what release from my sorrows will there be? Upon me too, my lord, as upon him, lay the doom of death. From a man, bereft of his friends, honour has clean departed; and of mortals few are they who in hard-besetting need are faithful, to share in the travail.*"

(Antistrophe 5.) Thus spake he, and Zeus came and stood before him, and pronounced these words : "*My son art thou; but after I had begotten thee, this man was conceived by thy mother of the drops of her husband's mortal seed. But notwithstanding, I offer thee the choice of these two lots. If thou art fain to eschew death and loathsome old and dwell thyself (without Castor) in the mansion of Olympus, with Athene and with swart-speared Ares, this guerdon is thine to have; but if thy zeal is for thy brother, and it is thy purpose to give him an equal share in all, then shalt thou breathe for the half of thy days in a place beneath the earth, and for the moiety in the golden house of heaven.*" When he had thus pronounced, Polydeukes halted not between the two ways, but unclosed the eye and then released the voice of brass-girt Castor.'

There is a certain witchery in the myth of these two young Tyndarids, men and also gods, alive and yet not always quick, knit closely to each other, ever since a birth of curious circumstance, by fibres of sympathy and features of similitude, being almost doubles or 'shadows,' and to men never coming save as a pair, nor often conceived apart. There is light about them, but it is light experiencing a change, or double (*ἀμφιλήκη*), partaking of the gloom of hollow chambers at Therapna ; the outgoings of the morning and the evening have passed, shimmering, into the story of the Laconian horsemen. For they usually rode on horses (like the Vedic *agvins*); and they were not heedful of the love of women. Such love was replaced by that mystical friendship for each other, which became a type,—comradeship here actually overcoming death, through the conviction that 'there are worse things waiting for men than death' in the world.

The names and qualities of Idas and Lynceus, with whom the Tyndarids associate and quarrel in the highland glens of Arcadia or Laconia, suggest (as latent in the legend) strange creatures of the woods, endowed with supernatural powers, like Pan, and perhaps of his society,—creatures surpassingly fleet of foot, and of sight potent to pierce through opaque masses of earth or stone or tree¹. Idas may be 'the man of the wood'; and Lynceus is the 'lynx-man,' whose eye is keener than all on earth ; which reminds us of the

¹ Schol. on *z.* 62 ; ὁ δὲ Λυγκεὺς ὀξυδερκῆς ὢν, ὥστε καὶ διὰ λίθων καὶ διὰ γῆς τὰ

γινόμενα βλέπειν, ἰδὼν διὰ τῆς δρυὸς τὸν Κάστορα ἔτρωσε λόγχῃ.

keen vision of Pan (ὀξέα δερκόμενος), whose back was covered with the spotted skin of a lynx :

λαῖφος δ' ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφουρὸν
λυγκὸς ἔχει¹.

Their father's name, moreover, Aphareus, the Speedy or Sudden one, suits the sphere of the swift children of the forest.

But while the story suggests this 'Arcadian' origin, it is a digression here, for Pindar is not concerned with this idea. He is rather concerned to bring out a parallel between the myth of the Tyndarids and the circumstances of Theaeus.

Let us see. The heart's desire of Polydeukes was that he and his brother should share Olympus together, even though this implied a mixture of hardship with happiness. The heart's desire of Theaeus was a victory at *Olympia*, for which he was prepared to endure travail. The parallel is thus indicated by a responsion in the first lines of the second and the fifth epode.

l. 31 ὅστις ἀμιλλᾷται περὶ
ἐσχάτων ἀέθλων κορυφαῖς.

l. 85 εἰ δὲ κασιγνήτου πέρι
μάρνασθαι.

In both cases a prayer is directed to Zeus, and in the same metre ; and in both cases the real petition is not declared. In the last lines of the second antistrophos Pindar entreats Zeus for Theaeus :

l. 29 Ζεῦ πάτερ, τῶν μὰν ἔραται φρενὶ σιγᾷ Φοι στόμα· πᾶν δὲ τέλος
ἐν τιν ἔργων·

In the last lines of the fifth strophe Polydeukes addresses Zeus :

πάτερ Κρονίων, τίς δὴ λύσις

l. 77 ἔσσεται πενθέων ; καὶ ἐμοὶ θάνατον σὺν τῷδ' ἐπίτειλον, ἄναξ.
οἷχεται τιμὰ κ.τ.λ.

In l. 29 τέλος leaves the issue doubtful ; in l. 77 the τέλος named is not that which is desired.

Again the real desire of Polydeukes, uttered by Zeus, is compared with the request of Theaeus, under the form of a paronomasia. To both there were two alternatives open ; they might ask for happiness, without a disposition to undergo hardship, or they might ask for it not unconditioned. For Polydeukes this alternative is stated plainly at the end of the fifth antistrophos ; for Theaeus it is suggested at the end of the second antistrophos.

l. 30 (ἐν τιν ἔργων·) οὐδ' ἀμόχθῳ καρδία προσφέρων τόλμαν παραιτεῖται χάριν.
εἰ μὲν θάνατόν τε φυγῶν καὶ γῆρας ἀπεχθόμενον

l. 84 αὐτὸς οἰκεῖν αἴτος Οὐλύμπου θέλεις κ.τ.λ. :

—this would have been the wrong request for Polydeukes.

¹ See Homeric Hymn (XIX.) to Pan, ll. 14 and 23.

But the analogy, most evident in the conclusion, is carried on, directly or indirectly, throughout the whole passage. *The son of Leda* in l. 66 responds to *the son of Ulias* in l. 24.

24 Οὐλία παῖς ἔνθα—

66 ἦλθε Λήδας παῖς—

and we observe that, as Theaeus derived his valour from his mother, Polydeukes inherited his divinity from his father. And both were engaged in 'a brazen contest,' associated with oxen :

l. 60 τὸν γὰρ Ἴδας ἀμφὶ βουσὶν πως χολωθεὶς ἔτρωσεν χαλκίας λόγχας ἀκῆ,
and, in l. 70, Polydeukes drives brass (χαλκόν) home in the sides of Lynceus. Theaeus was concerned in such a contest at Argos,

l. 22 ἀγών τοι χάλκεος

δαῖμον δ'τρύνει ποτὶ βουθυσίαν Ἴφρας.

The requirements of this analogy explain the curious phrase χάλκεος ἀγών; for a direct reference to the prize, a shield of bronze, would have affected the comparison with a sort of awkwardness, a prize not answering well to a weapon of offence.

Again the contest is in each case described as a labour or trial (πόνων, in 6th line of 2nd strophe, πόνῳ in 6th line of 5th strophe)¹.

But the direct analogy of the deeds of Polydeukes with those of Theaeus is not continued throughout; the comparison is partly sustained by a sort of reflexion, through an intermediate parallel, namely the list of eminent Argives in the first system. Thus in the last three lines of the fourth antistrophos we find responsions connecting them with the last three lines of the first strophe.

l. 4 Μεδοίσας Γοργόνος.

l. 64 ἐμήσαντ' ὠκέως.

Here the contrivance of Idas and Lynceus is likened to the thought of an arch 'contriveress,' and the comparison of Polydeukes to Perseus is implied. In l. 65 the παλάμαις Διὸς answer to the παλάμαις Ἐπάφου (son of Zeus) in l. 5; in both cases Zeus was a present help to his sons, begotten of Io and of Leda.

Moreover Polydeukes is compared to Hypermnestra. Just as death threatened him from the spot where his foes stood *hard* by their father's tomb, so Hypermnestra was threatened by death through keeping her sword *hard* pressed in her scabbard,

l. 6 ἐν κουλεῇ κατασχοῖσα ξίφος.

l. 66 τύμβῳ σχεδὸν πατρῷῳ.

And as she did not flinch (οὐ παρεπλάγχθη), though her queenly seat with her sisters (ἀγλαὸς θρόνος, see ἀγλαοθρόνων l. 1) might be converted into an

¹ The responsion was observed by καρδία l. 30.
Mezger, who compares also οὐδ' ἀμόχθῳ

emblem of the world of death, even so the headstone (*ἄγαλμ' Ἀΐδα*) hurled at Polydeukes did not make him to quail.

We have already seen how the doughty deeds of the maternal kinsfolk of Theaeus are compared to the glories of Argive legend. Now we understand that the list of famous Argives serves as an interposed mirror, reflecting the tale of the Dioscouri into the tale of the victories of this Argive family. That the ultimate purpose is to institute a comparison between the third system and the fourth, by means of a common reference to the first, is indicated by a resposion connecting the third and fourth epodes :

1. 50 καὶ κασιγνήτου Πολυδεύκεος.

1. 68 ἔμβαλον στέρνα Πολυδεύκεος.

The aid rendered by Zeus to Polydeukes, in slaying one of his foes by the lightning which consumed them both, was an omen of the higher favour which he granted to his son, a little later. Similarly the jar of olive oil won by Theaeus at Athens was an omen of an olive wreath to be won at Olympia. This is brought out by *γαία καυθείσα πυρί* in l. 35 (5th verse of 2nd epode), and *πυρφόρον* and *ἐκαίοντ'*, ll. 71 and 72 (5th and 6th verses of 4th epode). Similarly the brass, won by Theaeus at Argos and by his kinsmen elsewhere, is contrasted tacitly with gold, the emblem of Olympian victory ; just as the brass weapons of Amphitryon are contrasted, tacitly too, with the golden lot of Heracles, reflected upon the mortal hero ; and as the brass, which flashed in the combat of the Tyndarids with their adversaries, is contrasted, now explicitly, with the golden sheen of Olympus.

But with 'the golden houses of heaven' the hymn does not conclude. The victor, for whom the legend of the Dioscouri is a figure teaching him that 'the gods are true¹,' had not yet attained his heart's desire,—toward such attainment a season of hardship and endurance being still in prospect, and the end, like all things dependent on mortal frailty, uncertain. And therefore with the unerring instinct of the Greek artist, who is never impatient of the divine repression demanded for the perfection of art, Pindar turns our eyes from the gold and guides them to the brass girdle of Castor, now 'released.' When the music has unfolded the vision of Olympian happiness, we slide down from the heights, and are reminded that it is earth still.

¹ The importance of this statement καὶ μὲν θεῶν πιστὸν γένος (l. 54) is accentuated by the echo in l. 78 παῦροι δ' ἐν πόνῳ πιστοὶ βροτῶν, 'wobei zu beachten ist, dass beidemal das entscheidende Wort

(πιστός) an betonter Stelle als vorletztes Wort der Strophe (Epode) steht. Der Mythos enthält also ohne Frage das Lob der göttlichen Treue' (Mezger).

METRICAL ANALYSIS.

STROPHE.

A.

v. 1. *a.* ∪ ∪ ∠ ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∠ ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∟ (8).

v. 2. *a'.* ∠ ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — — ∠ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∟ (8).

B.

vv. 3, 4. *b.* ∠ ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∟ ∠ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — — ∠ ∪ — ∟ (12).

v. 5. *a''.* ∠ ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∟ (8).

v. 6. *b'.* ∠ ∪ — — — ∪ — — — ∠ ∪ — . — ∪ — — — ∪ — — — ∠ ∪ — ∟ (12).

Thus the strophe falls into two parts, of which the first (A) is antistrophic, and the second (B) mesodic,—the mesode being of the same length (*μέγεθος*) as the two measures of A.

The formula is

$$8.8 : 12.8.12.$$

EPODE.

A.

v. 1. *a.* ∠ ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — ∟ (7).

v. 2. *a'.* ∠ ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — ∟ (7).

B.

vv. 3, 4. *b.* ∠ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∟ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — (11).

v. 5. *a''.* ∠ ∪ — — — ∪ — — — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ (7).

v. 6. *b'.* ∠ ∪ — . — ∪ — . — ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — — ∪ — ∟ (11).

The structure of the epode is exactly the same as that of the strophe, except that the *μέγεθος* are shorter, the formula being

$$7.7 : 11.7.11.$$

The rhythm of this Ode is dactylo-epitritic.

[NEMEONIKAI] I'.

ΘΕΙΑΙΩ, ΑΡΓΕΙΩ,

ΠΑΛΛΙΣΤΗ.

στρ. α'.

Δαναοῦ πόλιν ἀγλαοθρόνων τε πεντήκοντα κορᾶν, Χάριτες,
"Αργος "Ηρας δῶμα θεοπρεπὲς ὑμνεῖτε· φλέγεται δ' ἀρεταῖς

1. ἀγλαοθρόνων] This epithet is applied to the Muses also (*OL. XIII. 96*) and refers to their representation in works of art as seated. See above, *Introduction*, p. 187. The first scholia on this Ode are worth quoting at length:

ἐνιοὶ φασιν εἰς πλείους νίκας τὸν ἐπὶ νικῶν συντετάχθαι· λαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ "Ισθμια καὶ Πύθια καὶ Νέμεα. περὶ δὲ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων εὐχεται ὅτε φησί· Ζεῦ πάτερ, τῶν γε μᾶν ἔραται [*I. 53*]. ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος ὅτε βούλοιτο ἐπαινεῖν τὰς πατρίδας τῶν νενικηκότων ἀθροίζειν εἴωθε τὰ πεπραγμένα ταῖς πόλεσι περιφανῇ, καθὼς ἐν τῇ ᾠδῇ, ἧς ἡ ἀρχή· "Ισμηνδὸν ἢ χρυσηλάκατον Μελίαν [*fr. 29*]. ὁ δὲ λόγος· ὑμνεῖτε, ᾧ Χάριτες, τὴν τοῦ Δαναοῦ πόλιν καὶ τὰς πεντήκοντα αὐτοῦ θυγατέρας. § ὁ δὲ νοῦς ὅλος· τὴν τοῦ Δαναοῦ πόλιν καὶ τῶν πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ, φημὶ δὲ τὸ "Αργος, ἥτις πόλις "Αργείων οἰκητήριον θειωδέστατον ἐστὶ τῆς "Ηρας, ὑμνήσατε, ᾧ Χάριτες. ἐστὶ δὲ παρὰ τὸ Ὀμηρικόν·

ἧτοι ἐμοὶ τρεῖς μὲν πολλὴ φίλταται εἰσι
πόλεις,
"Αργος τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρύαγνια
Μυκῆνη.

καὶ Καλλιμαχος·

τὸν μὲν ἀρισκυδῆς εὔνις ἀνῆκε Διὸς
"Αργος ἔθειν ἰδίον περ ἐὼν λάχος· ἀλλὰ
γενέθλι

Ζηνὸς ὅπως σκοτὶή τρηχὺς ἄεθλος ἔοι.

(τὸν in this fragment of Callimachus is the Erymanthian boar).

2. θεοπρεπὲς] *meet habitation for a god.*

φλέγεται κ.τ.λ.] The usual explanation of these words will not bear close examination. If ἀρεταί and ἔργα θρασέα are hardly distinguishable, there is no meaning in ἐνεκεν. One may seek to avoid the difficulty by translating ἀρεταῖς by *laudibus*, but it is clear that ἀρετή is not a synonym of ἐπαινος. Let us observe Pindar's metaphorical use of the verb φλέγω. In *Pyth. v. 45* we read,

Ἀλεξιβιάδα, σὲ δ' ἡὔκομοι φλέγοντι
Χάριτες.

μακάριος, ὃς ἔχει
καὶ πεδὰ μέγαν κάματον
λόγων φερτάτων
μυαμῆον·

and in *Isth. VI. 23*

φλέγεται δὲ ἰοπλόκοισι Μοῖσαις.

This figurative illumination is attributed in the first passage to the Graces and in the second passage to the Muses, that is to the deities who preside over art and literature. And similarly the sentence under consideration is immediately preceded by an invocation of the Graces, so that we are left in no doubt touching the agency by which the city is lit up. Monuments of marble or monuments of

μυρίαις ἔργων θρασέων ἔνεκεν.

μακρὰ μὲν τὰ Περσέος ἀμφὶ Μεδοίσας Γοργόνας·

πολλὰ δ' Αἰγύπτῳ Ἴω κτίσεν ἄστυ ταῖς Ἐπάφου παλάμαις. 5

song (μυαμῆα λόγων, compare the lines quoted from the 5th Pythian) might both claim the patronage of Charites—*charis* being, so to speak, exhaled by every work of art,—and in the present case the former are clearly intended. The Heroon of Argos was adorned with Argive heroes and heroines in marble, and by the epithet ἀγλαοθρόνων Pindar calls this to mind at the very outset. It follows that the ἀρεταί here meant are works of art, and we may translate thus;

It is litten by countless memorials of valiant deeds.

If we were rendering in ancient Greek such a phrase as 'the tale of Troy divine illustrated by Flaxman', φλέγεσθαι would perhaps be a suitable verb to use.—For ἀρετή see further *Appendix A*, note 9.

4. μακρὰ μὲν κ.τ.λ.] *The tale of Perseus and the Gorgon Medusa is long. τὰ ἀμφὶ*—means *the labours about*; Dis-sen compares Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 702 τὸν ἀμφ' ἐαυτῆς ἄθλον. Schol. μακρὰ οὖν, φησί, τὰ διγνήματα τὰ περὶ Περσέως ἃ ἔπραξε κατὰ τὴν Γοργόνα.—Pindar goes with some fulness into this story in the Twelfth Pythian, written for Midas of Acragas, who had gained a victory in flute-playing. The head of Medusa was supposed to lie buried in a mound near the agora of Argos. Pausanias II. 21, 6, τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τοῦ Ἀργείων οἰκοδομήματος οὐ μακρὰν χῶμα γῆς ἐστίν· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ κείσθαι τὴν Μεδοῦσης λέγουσι τῆς Γοργόνης κεφαλὴν.

5. πολλὰ δ' κ.τ.λ.] The MSS. have

"

κατώκισθεν (B κατωκισθεν). This does not suit the metre, which requires here ~~~~. The corrections proposed cannot be seriously entertained, as none of them involves an explanation of the cor-

ruption, I may mention Boeckh's τὰ κατώκισεν, Hermann's ὅπα ἔκτισεν, Momm-sen's τὰ κατέκτισεν, Rauchenstein's κατά ναίεται, and Bergk's transposition, παλάμαις κατένασθεν ἄστυ ταῖς Ἐπάφου. The schol. explains the text found in the MSS.; πολλὰ δ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν, ὅπως ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ κατωκίσθησαν πόλεις ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἐπάφου χειρῶν.

It strikes one as strange that, in this roll of the worthies and the fair women of Argos, the illustrious heroine Io should not be recorded by name. The Danaids are mentioned, and a long verse is devoted to Hypermnestra. Although Perseus is recorded in l. 4, his mother Danae is named, along with Alcmena in l. 11. We might expect similarly to read the name of Io as well as that of her son, Epaphus. Now it is remarkable that in the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus (l. 834) the colonisation of Egypt is attributed to Io and her children, *con-jointly*:

οὗτός σ' ὁδώσει τὴν τρίγωνον ἐς χθόνα

Νειλῶτιν, οὗ δὴ τὴν μακρὰν ἀποικίαν,

Ἴοι, πέπρωται σοὶ τε καὶ τέκνοις κτίσαι.

This suggests that Pindar wrote

ΑΙΓΥΠΤΩΙΗΚΤΙCEN.

It is evident that one ι might have easily fallen out; the result would then be ωκτισεν, which would be inevitably corrected to ῥκτισεν. As the sense of the sentence, which had lost its true nominative, now demanded a passive verb, ῥκισθεν was an easy change, and the defective metre was roughly supplied by the addition of κατ-.

The sole objection which can be alleged against this restoration is that it involves an irregularity in the metre, namely the condensation of two shorts into one long. But this is an irregularity which Pindar not infrequently allows

οὐδ' Ὑπερμνήστρα παρεπλάγχθη, μονόψαφον ἐν κουλεῷ κατα-
σχοῖσα ξίφος.

Διομήδεα δ' ἄμβροτον ξανθά ποτε Γλαυκῶπις ἔθηκε θεόν· αὐτ.ά.
γαῖα δ' ἐν Θήβαις ὑπέδεκτο κεραυνωθείσα Διὸς βέλεσιν
μάντιν Οἰκλείδαν, πολέμοιο νέφος·

himself. For example in the Seventh Nemean, l. 35, we have Νεῶπτόλεμος where we should expect five shorts. Other instances will be found in the Third Nemean (epode, cf. ll. 20, 41, 62, 83), Sixth and Seventh Nemeans etc.—There is no objection to the hiatus after φ in arsis; cf. for instance *Isthm.* l. 61 Ἱεροδότῃ ἔπορεν.

If we observe (1) that an express mention of Io by name seems almost imperatively demanded in this list of Argive heroes and heroines,—Eraphus, who had no personal connexion with Argos, being scarcely an adequate substitute,—(2) that the expression ταῖς Ἐπάφου παλάμαις suggests that Eraphus is represented as the agent of someone else, (3) that in the passage quoted from the *Prometheus* Io is associated with her children in the foundation of Egyptian cities; and then find that the reading to which these considerations point, explains satisfactorily the corruption which has beset the text of our MSS.; we are entitled to conclude that the restoration admitted in the text rests upon a satisfactory basis.

6. **παρέπλάγχθη]** *stray from the true way.* The active occurs in *Olymp.* VII. 31 αἱ δὲ φρενῶν ταραχαὶ παρέπλαγξαν καὶ σοφόν.

μονόψαφον κ.τ.λ.] *having kept her dissentient sword unsheathed.* For **μονόψαφος** *unconsenting* see Aeschylus, *Suppliants*, 385. The MSS. have **μονόψαφον**, to agree with **ξίφος**, and this is more poetical than **μονόψαφος**, which was restored by Hecker, (whom most editors have followed) on the strength of a scholium.—Pindar has the form **κουλεός**

in *Nemean* l. 52, and the MSS. have **κουλεῷ** here, but the metre demands **κουλεῷ** which Hermann restored; compare the double forms Ὀλυμπος and Οὐλυμπος.

Horace's familiar *splendide mendax et in omni virgo nobilis ævum* is resonant and catching; but an ear which is a little impatient of rhetoric in poetry may prefer Pindar's οὐ παρεπλάγχθη. Horace declaims, with an epigrammatic turn, the maiden's praise, in the tone of an advocate; Pindar declares her justified, with the more effective reserve of a judge.

7. **Διομήδεα]** From a scholiast on this line we learn that Diomedes, according to Ibycus, married Hermione and lives in immortality with the Dioscuri; also that (according to Polemon) he enjoyed divine honours in Italy, at Metapontum and Thurii. Another note gives an account of his vengeance on Melanippus who had wounded his father Tydeus. Tydeus in his wrath felt the craving of a cannibal and tasted the flesh of his enemy, thereby incapacitating himself to receive the guerdon of immortality promised by Athena, who transferred her high gift to the son,—καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρὰ τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς εὐρεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸν θάνατον.

Argos preserved the shield of Diomedes in the temple of Athena, and Callimachus tells how it was laved along with the Palladion (brought by Diomedes from Troy) in the λοετρά Παλλάδος (l. 35):
ὠθάνα, φέρεται δὲ καὶ ἅ Διομήδεος ἀσπίς,
ὡς ἔθος Ἀργείων τοῦτο παλαιότατον.

9. **πολέμοιο νέφος]** This expression is Homeric, applied in the *Iliad* to Hector (P 243). Editors compare *fulmina belli*,

καὶ γυναιξὶν καλλικόμοισιν ἀριστεύει πάλαι· 10
 Ζεὺς ἐπ' Ἀλκμήναν Δανάαν τε μολὼν ἐτὸν κατέφανε λόγον·
 πατρὶ δ' Ἀδράστοιο Λυγκεῖ τε φρενῶν καρπὸν εὐθεία συνάρμοξεν
 δίκαι·

θρέψε δ' αἰχμὰν Ἀμφιτρύωνος. ὁ δ' ὄλβῳ φέρτατος ἐπ. α'.
 ἵκετ' ἐς κείνου γενεάν, ἐπεὶ ἐν χαλκείοις ὄπλοις
 Τηλεβόας ἐναρόντι Φοι ὄψιν ἐειδόμενος 15

and ἐμάρνατο ἴσος ἀέλλη. (*Nubes belli* in Virgil means a cloud of arrows.)—For the valour of Amphiaras and his fate see the preceding Ode; also *Olynth.* VI. 17 ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάρνασθαι. There was a temple to Amphiaras in Argos; see Pausanias, II. 23, 2.—The participle *κεραννωθῆς* occurs in Hesiod, *Theogony*, 859.

10. καὶ γυναιξί κ.τ.λ.] *For fair-haired dames also Argos is peerless since olden time, and the visitations of Zeus to Alcmena and Danaa declared the report merely true.*

ἐτόν, for τόν of the MSS., is due to Bergk; see note on *Nem.* VII. 25. As Zeus is supreme among the gods, his choice establishes the supremacy of Argive beauty—this is the force of ἐτόν. Schmid reads *τοῦτον* from the scholia.

12. πατρὶ δ' κ.τ.λ.] So *lemma* D for πατρὶ τ', which however is possibly right.—Talaus was the father of Adrastus; Lynceus was the husband of Hypermnestra.—For καρπὸν φρενῶν compare *Pyth.* II. 74,

ὁ δὲ Ῥαδάμανθους εὐπέπραγεν ὅτι φρενῶν
 ἔλαχε καρπὸν ἀμώμητον, οὐδ' ἀπάταισι
 θυμὸν τέρπεται ἔνδοθεν κ.τ.λ.

This phrase is perhaps the nearest Greek equivalent to our *heart*. Zeus *wedded their hearts to unswerving justice*.

Lynceus was buried with Hypermnestra, (Pausanias II. 23, 2), and near them Talaus, *τούτων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺς Ταιλαοῦ τοῦ Βιαντός ἐστι τάφος*. The house of Adrastus was shown in Argos (*ib.* 23, 2).

13. θρέψε κ.τ.λ.] *And he nourished the spear-point of Amphitryon*, that is, favoured the success of the warrior Amphitryon. Compare Κάστορος αἰχμὰ, *Isth.* V. 33, and Terpander (ap. Plutarch *Life of Lysurgus*, c. 21);

ἐνθ' αἰχμὰ τε νέων θάλλει καὶ Μοῦσα
 λιγέα
 καὶ Δίκα εὐνάγνια.

ὁ δ' ὄλβῳ φέρτατος κ.τ.λ.] *But he (Amphitryon) had the surpassing fortune to enter into kinship with Zeus (κείνου), when in bronze armour, in the similitude of the slayer of the Teleboae etc.* The scholiast wrongly refers ὁ δ' to Zeus and κείνου to Amphitryon, but explains ἵκετ' ἐς γενεάν rightly: 'Zeus procreated Heracles on the first day, on the next Amphitryon procreated Iphicles, and the stocks of both were mingled'. Mezger translates 'er trat in seine (des Zeus) Verwandschaft ein', and so Dissen 'in affinitatem Iovis venit'. Compare *Pyth.* IX. 84 τέκε οἱ καὶ Ζηνὶ μιγείσα δαΐφρων ... Ἀλκμήνα διδύμων σθένος νιῶν.

ἐπεὶ is explained by the scholium: ἄθλον γὰρ ἡ Ἀλκμήνη τὸν ἑαυτῆς γάμον προῦθηκε τῷ τοῖς Τηλεβόας καταπολεμήσουσι. The Teleboae were a people who dwelled in Acarnania.

15. ἐναρόντι Φοι B β have ἐναρῆ· τί οἱ, D has ἔναρε. τί οἱ. Hermann (followed by Bergk in his 4th ed.) read ἔναρεν· τῷ δ'. Schmid proposed ἐναρόντι, Rauchenstein ἐναρόντι οἱ. The scholium does not bear grammatical analysis:

ὅτε γὰρ τοῖς ὄπλοις ἀναιρουντος αὐτοῦ

ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς αὐλὰν ἐσῆλθεν
 σπέρμ' ἰδέϊμαντον φέρων Ἡρακλῆος· οὐ κατ' Ὀλυμπον
 ἄλοχος Ἥβα τελεία παρὰ ματέρι βαίνοισ' ἔστι, καλλίστα θεῶν.
 στρ. β'.
 βραχύ μοι στόμα πάντ' ἀναγῆσασθ', ὅσων Ἀργεῖον ἔχει τέμενος

τοὺς Τηλεβόας, τηνικαῦτα τὴν ὄψιν ἀφομοιωθεὶς ὁ Ζεὺς τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνι καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθὼν τῆς Ἀλκμήνης ἐπλησίασεν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐσπείρεν. Hence Mommsen deduced ἐναρόντος, which Mezger accepts. The circumstance that ἐναρόντος involves a deviation from the metre of the corresponding lines in the other epodes (introducing — in place of —) would not be a fatal objection; but it is impossible to see how the reading of the MSS. arose from ἐναρόντος. The scholium does not prove a genitive absolute. Hermann's reading appears to do more justice to the MSS.; but this appearance is deceptive. The questions arise—why should δ' have fallen out? why should a simple word like τῷ have been corrupted? And it must be observed that ἐν χαλκίοις ὅπλοις protests against any reading which retains ἔναρεν; for the picture clearly is, not Amphitryon fighting in Acarnania in bronze armour, but Zeus in bronze armour entering his house in Thebes. This consideration recommends Rauchenstein's ἐναρόντι οἱ, which, I am persuaded, is the true reading. The order of words is most felicitous. Τηλεβόας ἐναρόντι immediately succeeding χαλκίοις ὅπλοις suggests, without bringing this expedition into undue prominence, that the armour was supposed to be spoils (ἐναρα) taken from the Teleboae. Zeus came in Amphitryon's similitude and dressed as he would appear after the success of his enterprise.—The cause of the corruption was a false division of the participle. ἐναρον was read as third plural (for ἦναρον) after ἐπεὶ, and subsequently corrected to the singular; τι was accented, and left, though

really unmeaning. Το -τῷ σοῖ in the other epodes corresponds a long syllable; but cf. *Nemi.* v. 10 where πατέρος corresponds to — and see note on l. 5 above.

17. ἀδείμαντον] *intrepid*, applied also in *Isth.* i. 12 to Heracles, τὸν ἀδείμαντον Ἀλκμήνα τέκεν παῖδα.

οὗ κ.τ.λ.] *whose wife Hebe liveth in Olympus, fairest of the gods, walking beside her mother 'who maketh perfect'.* Compare the last lines of the First Nemean, for Heracles' union with Hebe; also *Hymn. Hom.* xv. (addressed 'to Heracles the lion-hearted') 7, 8

νῦν δ' ἤδη κατὰ καλὸν ἔδος νιφόεντος
 Ὀλύμπου

ναίει τερπόμενος καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον
 Ἥβην.

τελεία is the designation of Hera as the patroness of marriage: schol. ἔστι γὰρ αὕτη γαμηλία καὶ ζυγία. ἔστι δὲ ὁ γάμος τέλος διὰ τὸ τελειότητα βίου κατασκευάζειν (reproduction being regarded as the τέλος of the individual). Aeschylus (*frag.* 373) has Ἥρα τελεία, Ζητὸς εὐναία δάμαρ. In the Heraeum near Mycenae there was an altar adorned with a relief of the marriage of Hebe and Heracles; see Pausanias ii. 17, 6 βωμὸς ἔχων ἐπειργασμένον τὸν λεγόμενον Ἥβης καὶ Ἡρακλέους γάμον· οὗτος μὲν ἀργύρου κ.τ.λ.

19. βραχύ μοι στόμα κ.τ.λ.] *My mouth is of small measure to rehearse all the fair things wherein the precincts of Argos have share.* Compare *Isth.* vi. 44 βραχὺς ἐξικέσθαι χαλκόπεδον θεῶν ἔδραν, *one is of too small stature to come unto the bronze-floored abode of the gods.* For ἀναγείσθαι compare *Isth.* v. 56 ἐμοὶ δὲ μακρὸν πάσας ἀναγῆσασθ' ἀρετάς (Mingarelli's restoration; MSS. ἀγῆσασθ'), and

μοῖραν ἐσλῶν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ κόρος ἀνθρώπων βαρὺς ἀντιῖσαι· 20
 ἀλλ' ὅμως εὐχόρδον ἔγειρε λύραν,
 καὶ παλαισμάτων λάβε φροντίδ'. ἀγών τοι χάλκεος
 δᾶμον ὀτρύνει ποτὶ βουθυσίαν Ἥρας ἀέθλων τε κρίσιν.
 Οὐλία παῖς ἔνθα νικάσαις δις ἔσχεν Θειαῖος εὐφόρων λάθαν
 πόνων.

ἀντ. β'.

ἐκράτησε δὲ καὶ ποθ' Ἑλλανα στρατὸν Πυθῶνι, τύχα τε μολὼν 25
 καὶ τὸν Ἴσθμοι καὶ Νεμέα στέφανον Μοῖσαισιν ἔδωκ' ἰρόσαι,
 τρὶς μὲν ἐν πόντοιο πύλαισι λαχών,

OL. IX. 80 εἶνν εὐρησιεπὴς ἀναγεῖσθαι
 πρόσφορος ἐν Μοισᾶν δίφρῳ. In a well-
 known passage in the catalogue 'Homer'
 despairs of enumerating the heroes, if he
 had even ten mouths.

The whole city of Argos is regarded as
 in a certain sense 'holy ground', dedi-
 cated to Hera, as Pindar expresses by
 τέμενος. Dissen compares Soph. *Electra*,
 5 ἄλσος Ἰνάχου κόρης.

20. ἔστι δέ κ.τ.λ.] *There is moreover
 the envy of men, grievous to converse
 with.* ἀντιῖσαι is properly a neutral
 word; here it means *incur*. The schol.
 explains 'men are not pleased to hear the
 wondrous deeds of others, but they are
 straightway sick of the praises sounded,
 for envy'.

21. ἀλλ' ὅμως κ.τ.λ.] *Notwithstanding,
 awake the harmonious strings of the lyre,
 and turn to thoughts of wrestling matches.*
 Compare OL. IX. 13 ἀνδρὸς ἀμφὶ παλαί-
 μασιν φόρμιγγ' ἐλελίζων.

22. ἀγὼν χάλκεος] *The brazen con-
 test*, so called because the prize at the
 Heraea was a shield of bronze. Compare
 OL. VII. 83 ὃ τ' ἐν Ἀργεὶ χαλκὸς ἔγνω νιν,
the bronze in Argos knew him. The
 victor was also crowned with myrtle.
 Compare the schol. on OL. VII. 83:

τελεῖται κατὰ τὸ Ἀργὸς τὰ Ἱπρᾶια ἃ καὶ
 Ἑκατόμβαια καλεῖται παρὰ τὸ ἐκατὸν βοῦς
 θύεσθαι τῇ Θεῷ, τὸ δὲ ἔπαθλον ἀσπίς χαλκῇ,
 ὃ δὲ στέφανος ἐκ μυρσίνης.

This elucidates βουθυσίαν. As for Argive

shields, they were said to have come into
 use in the reign of Proetus (Pausanias II.
 25, 6).

εὐφόρων] So the mss. In the scholia
 is mentioned a variant, εὐφρόνων:

γράφεται δὲ καὶ εὐφρόνων· εὐφρόνων μὲν,
 ἐπεὶ εὐφοροὶ εἰσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι πόννοι τῷ
 ἄριστᾳ ἄθλῳ ἐννοχένοι· εὐφρόνων δὲ, τῶν
 εὐφραντικῶν.

εὐφόρων has been taken in two ways,
 (1) *easily borne*, (2) *fruitful* (Mezger).
 [Bergk prints εὐφόρος, Schmid (uncriti-
 cally) proposed δυσφόρων.] The first
 rendering ('facile ab eo perlatos', Dissen)
 is hardly possible; in this sense, εὐφορος
 could only mean *light*, which is not
 suitable. On the other hand, Mezger's
 explanation *fruitful, remunerative*, gives
 excellent sense.

25. Ἑλλανα στρατόν] the athletic
 world of Hellas; so *Pyth.* XI. 50:

Πυθοὶ τε γυμνὸν ἐπὶ στάδιον καταβάντες
 ἦλκυζαν

Ἑλλανίδα στρατιὰν ὠκύτατι.

τύχα, under the guidance of fortune, on a
 lucky day.

26. ἰρόσαι] *he gave the Muses a
 fruitful argument*, lit. soil for the Muses
 to plough, see note on *Nem.* VI. 32.
 This is a continuation of the metaphor in
 εὐφόρων, l. 24.

27. τρὶς κ.τ.λ.] *Scilicet στέφανον*.
 Schol. τρὶς μὲν γὰρ κληρωθεὶς ἐνίκησε τὰ
 Ἴσθμια· πόντου γὰρ πύλας εἶπε τὸν Ἴσθμὸν
 διὰ τὸ στενόν.

τρὶς δὲ καὶ σεμνοῖς δαπέδοις ἐν Ἀδραστείῳ νόμῳ.

Ζεῦ πάτερ, τῶν μὲν ἔραται φρενὶ σιγᾷ Φοι στόμα· πᾶν δὲ τέλος
ἐν τὴν ἔργων· οὐδ' ἀμόχθω καρδίᾳ προσφέρων τόλμαν παραιτεῖται
χάριν·

30

γνώτ' αἰίδω θεῷ τε καὶ ὅστις ἀμιλλᾶται περὶ ἐπ. β'.
ἔσχάτων ἀεθλων κορυφαῖς. ὕπατον δ' ἔσχεν Πίσσα
Ἡρακλέος τεθμόν· ἀδείαι γε μὲν ἀμβολάδαν

28. **τρὶς κ.τ.λ.**] At Nemea. For the ascription of the foundation of the Nemean games to Adrastus, see *Nem.* VIII. 51. Schol. *τρὶς δὲ τὰ Νέμεα κατὰ τὴν Ἀδράστου διοίκησιν καὶ νομοθέτησιν τελούμενα.* Render, *according to the foundation of Adrastus.* Compare *Isth.* II. 38 ἐν Πανελλάνων νόμῳ, *according to the universal use of the Greeks.*

29. **Ζεῦ πάτερ κ.τ.λ.**] *O father Zeus, his mouth is dumb of his heart's desires; in thee lieth every issue of works; nor doth he with heart unapt for toil sue amiss for a grace, but he hath the addition of endurance.*

The desire of Theaeus was an Olympian victory. For ἔραμαι in such a context, cf. *Pyth.* XI. 50 θεόθεν ἐραίμην καλῶν. *παραιτεῖται* has been explained in three ways: (1) closely with οὐδέ, in the sense of *deprecate, decline*; 'neque profecto ignavo animo deprecatur gloriam', Dissen; (2) 'eine neben hinausgehende Bitte thun, die keinen Erfolg haben kann, weil sie verkehrt bittet' (cf. *παρφάμεν, παράγειν*, etc.) Mezger, and so Rumpel 'tenere precor'; (3) Schol. *παρὰ σοῦ αἰτεῖται.*

Mezger's interpretation, *pray amiss, misask*, is clearly right, and a confirmation of it will be found in my note on I. 84. Pindar says that Theaeus does not trust in faith alone; he would fain gain his desire by both grace and bravery.

31. **γνώτ' αἰίδω**] *The burthen of my verses is well known both to god and to whosoever contendeth for the summit of the supreme contests* (Zeus and all athletes know what I mean).

One scholiast referred ὅστις especially to Theaeus, and his corrupt note (εὐγνωστον δὲ λέγω αὐτῷ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ Θεαίῳ ὅστις Θεαῖος ἀμιλλᾶται κ.τ.λ.) unnecessarily gave rise to Hermann's conjecture *γνωτὰ Θεαίῳ τε καὶ ὅστις*, and to Kayser's *οἱ* for *θεῷ*. Philip Melanchthon, from the continuation of the same scholium, substituted *κορυφᾶς* for *κορυφαῖς*.—For the collocation of *ἔσχατος* and *κορυφά* cf. *Ol.* I. 113:

ἐπ' ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλλοι μεγάλοι· τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφούται βασιλεῦσι.

For the application of *κορυφά* to the Olympian games, see *Ol.* II. 14 ἔδος Ὀλύμπου νέμων ἀέθλων τε κορυφάν.

32. **ὕπατον κ.τ.λ.**] *For most high is the institution of Heracles which Pissas* (cf. *Ol.* VI. 69 *τεθμόν μέγιστον ἀέθλων*, and *Nem.* XI. 27). *ὕπατον ἔσχεν* is an etymological explanation or analysis of *ἔσχάτων*. The same connexion of words is suggested in *Isth.* VI. 36:

προμάχων ἀν' ὅμιλον, ἐνθ' ἄριστοι

ἔσχον πολέμοιο νείκος ἔσχαταις ἱλπίσιν,
where the noblest encountered war, with hopes most counter to them.

33. **ἀδείαι γεμέν κ.τ.λ.**] *Sweet, surely, prelude-wise at their ceremonies the chants of the Athenians twice celebrated his praise; and in earth burnt in the fire, came to the brave people of Hera the fruit of the olive, even within the walls of painted vessels.*

Olive oil enclosed in a painted vase was the prize at the Panathenaic festival. Pindar regards the success of the victor at Athens as an omen of future successes

ἐν τελεταῖς δις Ἀθαναίων νιν ὀμφαῖ
κώμασαν· γαῖα δὲ καυθεῖσα πυρὶ καρπὸς ἐλαίας 35
ἔμολεν Ἥρας τὸν εὐάνορα λαὸν ἐν ἀγγέων ἔρκεσιν παμποικίλοις.

ἐφέπει δέ, Θειαῖε, ματρώων πολύγνωτον γένος ὑμετέρων στρ. γ'.

at Olympia; the olive-juice of Athena being a sort of prelude (*ἀμβολάδαν*) to the olive leaves of Zeus. See more fully above, *Introduction*.

ὀμφή means a *solemn voice* or *utterance*, (compare Milton's 'saintly shout') and is appropriate to the context with *τελεταῖς*. It does not occur elsewhere in Pindar, save in two fragments; fr. 75, l. 19 *ἀχεῖ τ' ὀμφαῖ μελέων σὺν αὐλοῖς* (an instance of the *schema Pindaricum*), and fr. 152 *μελισσοτεύκτων κηρίων ἐμὰ γλυκερώτερος ὀμφά*, *my voice more sweet than honey or the honeycomb*.—In *Iliad* Φ 364 *ἀμβολάδην* is used of the surface of a seething cauldron; but in the *Hymn to Hermes* l. 426 it has the meaning which belongs to it in this passage.

35. *γαῖα* κ.τ.λ.] Schol. *γαῖαν δὲ κεκαυμένην εἶπε τὴν ὕδριαν ἐν ᾗ τὸ ἔλαιον ὀπτᾶται γὰρ ὁ κέραμος. διὰ δὲ τούτου σημαίνει τοὺς τὰ Παναθήναια νενικηκότας· τίθενται γὰρ ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐν ἐπάθλου τάξει ὕδριαι πλήρεις ἐλαίου. διὸ καὶ Καλλιμαχος·*

καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίοις πάρ' ἐπὶ στέγος ἱερὸν ἦνται

κάλπιδες οὐ κόσμου σύμβολον, ἀλλὰ πάλης.

...§...οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἐξαγωγή ἐλαίου ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν εἰ μὴ τοῖς νικῶσι. This last note gives special force to *ἔμολεν*.—*παμποικίλος* occurs in both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

37. *ἐφέπει* κ.τ.λ.] MSS. *ἔπεται*. It has been supposed that Pindar in two passages has contravened the universal Greek usage of constructing *ἔπομαι* with a dative, and assigned to it an accusative. One passage is *Ol.* VI. 71, where a correct punctuation suffices to abolish the anomaly: *ἐξ οὐ πολύκλειτον καθ' Ἑλλήνας γένος Ἰαμίδαν· ὀλβος ἅμ' ἔσπετο·* κ.τ.λ.

The other case is the passage before us. Dissen owns that *ἔπεσθαι* with a dative 'verisimile non est', and takes *γένος* as an accusative of place, 'pro *ἔπεται ἐς γένος*, constructum ut *βαίνειν Ol.* II. 95, *aliaque multa verba eundi*'. He explains the meaning thus: 'es folgt, geht aber zu den mütterlichen Vorfahren der Ruhm der Kämpfe hinan'. Even if we admit that the construction is possible, the sentence is a curious mode of expressing this meaning.

The note of the scholiast is: *ἐπακολουθεῖ, φησὶ, κατὰ τὸ πολύγνωτον ὑμῶν γένος τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρός· μήτρως γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ μητρός πρόγονοι· εὐάγων τιμή, κ.τ.λ.* From this note Hartung deduces that the annotator had before him not *ὑμετέρων* but *ὑμέτερον*, and reasoning that the former could not have arisen from the latter—'denn das natürliche pflegt nicht leicht in das unnatürliche ungeändert zu werden'—, suggests 'dass *γένει ὑμετέρω* geschrieben stand'. He proposes to read *πολύγνωτῳ γένει*, which he supports by a scholium on v. 49: *διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἐπάρω εἶπε· Χαρίτεσσί τε καὶ σὺν Τυνδαρίδαις τὴν νίκην αὐτῶν ἐληλυθέναι τῷ γένει*.—Bergk reads *πεδ' εὐγνωτον (ἔπεται πεδὰ=μεθέπεται)*; but the mere fact that *πολύγνωτον* does not occur elsewhere makes the assumed corruption improbable.

An examination of the passage will soon show us that the seat of the corruption is the verb *ἔπεται* itself. (1) *ἔπεται...θαμάκῃς* is a distinctly unhappy expression; the sense rather demands a verb signifying to *visit*. (2) As *ἔπομαι* requires a dative, it is inconceivable that, if there were originally a dative in the passage, it should have been changed to the accusative. Therefore

εὐάγων τιμὰ Χαρίτεσσί τε καὶ σὺν Τυνδαρίδαις θαμάκῃς.

ἀξιοθείην κεν, ἐὼν Θρασύκλου

Ἄντία τε ξύγγονος, Ἄργεϊ μὴ κρύπτειν φάος

40

ὀμμάτων. νικαφορίαις γὰρ ἑταῖς Προίτιο τόδ' ἵπποτρόφον

the probability is that ἔπεται has taken the place of a verb which governs the accusative.

The word which exactly suits the passage is ἐφέπει, *visits*. The words then mean:

Honour, queen of noble contests, doth often haunt the far-famed race of your mother's kin, Theaeus, by favour of the Graces and the Tyndarids.

The corruption was due to an accident. Letters at the beginning and end of lines and strophes are more liable than others to obliteration. If such a chance befel the first two letters of ΕΦΕΠΕΙ, it is clear that the surviving *επει*—the sense requiring a verb and the metre an anapaest—was very likely to be interpreted as a mistake for ἔπεται.

But there is another reason for accepting ἐφέπει. Looking down to the epode of the present system (ep. γ'), we find a cause assigned for the athletic prowess of Theaeus' maternal kinsfolk. Pamphaes in mythical days had entertained the Tyndarids, and they are the stewards of the games at Sparta, which they order in confederacy with Hermes and Heracles. Now the words in these lines (51—53) are selected so as to recall strophe γ. Thus

ἐγγενές, 51: γένος, 47,

ἀγώνων, 52: εὐάγων, 48,

θάλειαν, 53: θάλησεν, 42,

these echoes serving to emphasize the logical connexion of the system, and linking the Τυνδαρίδαις of l. 38 with their next introduction in l. 49. In the same way διέποντι l. 53 is an echo of ἐφέπει l. 37. The share which the Tyndaridae have in the success of the kin of Theaeus, is brought into relation with the share which they have as the

'starters' (ἀφετήριοι) in the games at Lacedaemon.—It is interesting to observe that a like echo occurs in the First Pythian. The fourth line of the 2nd antistrophos begins

ὅς τοι' ἐφέπεις ὄρος,

and the fourth line of the 3rd antistrophos ends

νῦν γε μὰν τὰν Φιλοκλήταο δίκαν ἐφέπων.

39. ἀξιοθείην κ.τ.λ.] schol. ἐγώ, φησί, καταξιοθείην τῶν περὶ Θράσυκλον καὶ Ἄντιαν συγγενῆς ὧν ἐν τῷ Ἄργει διάγειν καὶ ζῆν, ἔνθα οὐκ ἂν ἀπαρρησίαστος διετέλεσα οὐδὲ κάτω βλέπων καὶ κρύπτων ἔμαντοῦ τὸ ἐλεύθερον. οἱ γὰρ νικῶντες μετὰ παρρησίας ἄνω βλέποντες βαδίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἡττημένοι διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην οὐχ οὕτως.

ἐὼν ξύγγονος, *were I a kinsman*. μὴ κρύπτειν φάος ὀμμάτων is expressed positively in *Nem.* VII. 66 (δέρκεσθαι λαμπρόν).

41. νικαφορίαις κ.τ.λ.] The reading of the MSS. is:

νικαφορίαισι γὰρ ὅσαις ἵπποτρόφον ἄστυ τὸ Προίτιο κ.τ.λ. Boeckh read νικαφορίαις γὰρ ὅσαις Προίτιο τόδ' ἵπποτρόφον ἄστυ, Hermann νικαφορίαις γὰρ ὅσαις ἵπποτρόφον ἄστυ τὸ σὸν, Προῖτε, θάλησεν. Bergk remarks 'non Argos, sed victoriae, quas maiores Theaei...rettulerunt, praedicandae', and reads (ed. 4) νικαφορίαις γὰρ ὅσαις Προίτιός τ' ἂν ἵπποτρόφον ἄστυ θάλησαν (the accidental omission of τ' ἂν' would lead to the change of θάλησαν to θάλησεν).—The 'reason' for Bergk's emendation will hardly recommend itself. Leaving aside for a moment the difficulty presented by ὅσαις, we can see nothing suspicious in the sentence. *By victories the horse-rearing city, of Proetus, burst into bloom (won crowns) at Corinth on the inland gulf and at the hands of the men*

ἄστν θάλησεν Κορίθου τ' ἐν μυχοῖς, καὶ Κλεωναίων πρὸς ἀνδρῶν
τετράκισ·

of *Cleonae* (at Nemea), *four times*. For θάλέω cf. *Nem.* iv. 88 (in Rumpel's *Lexicon Pindaricum*, the quantity is wrongly marked short).—Some transposition however seems necessary, for the line as it stands in the MSS. ends in the middle of a word (Προίτ-οιο). I have adopted, as simplest, the proposal of Boeckh, though I confess that I regard such transpositions as suspicious. Hermann's conjecture need not be entertained, as it has no support from either MSS. or scholia. The scholium is:

πόσαις γὰρ ἵπποτροφίαις, φησὶν, αὕτη ἡ πόλις οὐκ ἔβαλλεν ἢ τοῦ Προίτου, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ Κορινθίῳ Ἰσθμῷ τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ τετράκισ νικήσασα· κ.τ.λ.

It is clear that *ῥσαις* is inconsistent with *τετράκισ*, and the unmetrical *νικαφορλαῖσι* in the MSS. points also to an ancient corruption in this spot. *ῥσαις* was substituted for another word, which was not intelligible. I believe that this word was *αῖς*.

νικαφορλαῖς γὰρ αῖς
became *metri gratia*
νικαφορλαῖσι γὰρ αῖς
and then *sensus gratia*
νικαφορλαῖσι γὰρ ῥσαις.

If this be so the problem is to determine the origin of *αῖς*, and here the scholium comes to our help. The scholiast evidently had a different text before him; he read neither *νικαφορλαῖσι* nor *ἵπποτρόφον*, but *ῥσαις γὰρ ἵπποτροφίαις* or *ἵπποτροφίαις γὰρ ῥσαις*, the line being probably filled up by words corresponding to *οὐκ* and *αὕτη* in his note. We must inquire, what could have elicited *ἵπποτροφίαις* from *ἵπποτρόφον*? It is clear that, if the article *ταῖς* preceded *ἵπποτρόφον*, there would have been a very strong temptation to alter the adjective to a dative plural. This consideration places the solution in our hands. *ταῖς* arose from *ἑταις*, just as

in l. 11 above *τὸν* arose from *ἐτόν*.

As for the meaning, *ἑταις* is peculiarly suitable here. The victories referred to were clearly won in chariot-races, as the close collocation of *ἵπποτρόφον* indicates. Thus they were *νικαφορλαῖ*, in the literal sense of the word; the horses, as it were, bearing Victory like a charioteer. In the case of running, wrestling and other non-equestrian contests, *νικαφορία* could not bear this literal sense. *ἑταις* expresses this shade of meaning; I have already referred to Mr Verrall's elucidation of *ἐτυμός* and *ἐτήνυμος*.

Another consideration weighs in favour of *ἑταις*. I have explained fully in the *Introduction* (above, p. 189 sq.) how Pindar establishes a comparison between the mythical glories of Argos and the special glories of the kinsfolk of Theaeus. This comparison is carried out by responsions between the first strophe and antistrophos, and the third strophe and antistrophos. Observe:

ll. 1, 2	Χάριτες	l. 38	Χαρίτεσσι
l. 3	ἔργον θρασέων	l. 39	ἔων Θρασύ- κλου
l. 3	μυρία	l. 45	ἀλλὰ χαλκὸν μυρίον
l. 4	μακρὰ μέν	l. 46	μακροτέρας γάρ
l. 5	ἄστη	l. 47	ὑψίβατοι πό- λιες

The import of these responsions has been set forth in the *Introduction*. They form a strong confirmation of *ἑταις* in the fifth l. of the third strophe, corresponding to *ἐτόν*, Bergk's certain restoration in the fifth line of the second antistrophos. As the choice of Zeus established the excellence of Argos 'the city of Danaus' in women, so the victories of Thrasyclus and Antias establish the excellence of Argos 'the city of Proetus' in horses. The Homeric epithet of Argos is *ἱπ-
πόβοτον*.

Σικωννόθε δ' ἀργυρωθέντες σὺν οἰνηραῖς φιάλαις ἀπέβαν. αὐτ. γ'.
 ἐκ δὲ Πελλάνας ἐπιοσσάμενοι νῶτον μαλακαῖσι κρόκαις·
 ἀλλὰ χαλκὸν μυρίον οὐ δυνατὸν 45
 ἐξελέγχειν· μακροτέρας γὰρ ἀριθμῆσαι σχολᾶς.
 ὄντε Κλείτωρ καὶ Τεγέα καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ὑψίβατοι πόλιες
 καὶ Λύκαιον παρ Διὸς θῆκε δόμῳ σὺν ποδῶν χειρῶν τε νικᾶσαι
 σθένει.

43. ἀργυρωθέντες] For the prize at the chariot-race of Sicyon, see *Nem.* IX. 51. Just as in l. 22 the contest whose prize is a bronze shield is named a *bronze contest*, so the victors in a race rewarded by silver cups are said to be *silvered*. ἀπέβαν, schol. ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄργος. The Aldine ed. has ἐπέβαν.

44. ἐκ δὲ Πελλάνας] Schol. τίθεται δὲ παχέα ἱμάτια ἐν Πελλήνῃ ἄγναφα· δυσχεέμεροι δὲ οἱ τόποι. περιφραστικῶς δὲ τὴν χλανίδα μαλακὴν κρόκην εἶπε· καὶ ἐτέρωθι ψυχρὰν ὅπου εὐδιανὸν φάρμακον αὐρᾶν Πελλάνα παρέχει [*Ol.* IX. 97, MSS.

Πελλάνα, or α, φέρε].

ἐξελέγχειν] *to test by measure*. Schol. λέβητα γὰρ ἐτιμῶντο ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἀγῶνων καὶ ἀσπίδα χαλκὴν.

47. Κλείτωρ κ.τ.λ.] It is supposed that the games at Clitor were called Κόρεια, from the Κόρη (Persephone) who was there worshipped with her mother; see Pausanias VIII. 21. 2. At Tegea were held the Ἀλειαῖα in honour of Athene; see Pausanias VIII. 47. 3. Cf. Hermann, *Lehrbuch der Gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Griechen* (ed. Stark) p. 336, and Curtius, *Peloponnes*, I. 254, 273.—For the *high situate* cities of Achaea cf. B 573.

οἱ θ' Ὑπερησίων τε καὶ αἰπεινὴν Γονόεσσαν

Πελλήνην τ' εἶχον ἢ δ' Αἴγιον ἀμφενέμοντο.

It is not known in what cities games were held. In many Achaeian towns (Dyme, Patrae, Aegium, Tritaea, as well as Pellene) there were temples of Athena, and perhaps in some her worship was

attended with gymnastic contests (see Pausanias VII. 17 *et seq.*).

48. Λύκαιον] The temple of Ζεὺς Λύκαιος in Arcadia. Pausanias (VIII. 38. 5) describes this strange τέμενος, in which men and beasts were said to cast no shadows: ἔσοδος δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνθρώποις. For games at Lycaean, cf. Simonides, 155 (Bergk *P. L. G.* III. p. 501), where a list of victories is given, among the rest δύο δ' ἐν Λυκαίῳ. —θῆκε νικᾶσαι means *set as prizes to win*. σὺν goes with σθένει, *by dint of the strength*.

The scholiast has confused the sense of the passage, and copyists have corrupted the text, through the idea that δρόμῳ (so MSS.) belonged to the latter part of the sentence. B has ποδῶν τε χειρῶν τε, so that δρόμῳ ποδῶν should balance χειρῶν σθένει. D attempts to rectify the metre, without due consideration of the meaning, by omitting τε after χειρῶν. The note of the scholiast is: ὃν καὶ τὸ Λύκαιον ἔθηκε χαλκὸν παρὰ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς βωμῷ τοῖς δυναμένοις νικῆσαι σὺν ποδῶν σθένει, δρόμῳ, καὶ χειρῶν σθένει, πάλη καὶ παγκρατίῳ καὶ πυγμαγῇ.—From δυναμένοις Mommsen deduced δαείσιν which he substitutes for δρόμῳ σὺν; but the participle in the scholium is merely an elucidation of the infinitive construction. M. Schmidt following in the same track and regarding δρόμῳ as a gloss on ποδῶν σθένει, reads θελουσιν ποδῶν κ.τ.λ. Rauchenstein objecting to σὺν proposed δρόμοισιν. Bergk has τ' ἐνίκασαν, the subject of the verb being the ancestors of Theaeus, and takes σὺν not with σθένει but with the verb.

Κάστορος, δ' ἐλθόντος ἐπὶ ξενίαν παρ Παμφάῃ
καὶ κασιγνήτου Πολυδεύκεος, οὐ θαῦμα σφίσιν
ἐγγενές ἔμμεν ἀεθληταῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν· ἐπεὶ
εὐρυχόρου ταμίαι Σπάρτας ἀγώνων
μοῖραν Ἑρμῆ καὶ σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ διέποντι θάλειαν,

ἐπ. γ'.

50

In regard to Bergk's emendation it may be observed that it is gratuitous to change νικᾶσαι, and in regard to his explanation of σὺν, there is the serious objection that *συννικᾶν* means *to take part in a victory*, a sense inappropriate here. σὺν signifying *by means of* is characteristically Pindaric, and may be supported, for example, by ἐνὶ σὺν τρόπῳ in *Nem.* VII. 14. The proposals of Mommsen and Rauchenstein are due to a too curious examination of the scholiast's words.

The only difficulty lies in παρ δρόμῳ, which is hardly explicable. ἐν δρόμῳ is required and Bergk's citation παρὰ τυραννίδι is not a parallel. I have ventured to print δόμῳ, for though in ordinary circumstances δόμῳ would be more likely to usurp the place of δρόμῳ than conversely, here δρόμῳ insinuated itself into the text from a gloss on ποδῶν σθένει with the utmost facility, or perhaps came not from a written, but, so to speak, from a mental gloss, a copyist 'correcting' δόμῳ, in view of the context, as an obvious clerical error. For δόμος used of a temple, see *Nem.* VII. 46, *Pyth.* VII. 10.—A parallel passage in *Pyth.* x. 23 merits quotation:

ὅς ἂν χερσὶν ἢ ποδῶν ἀρετᾷ κρατήσῃαι
τὰ μέγιστ' ἀέθλων ἔλῃ τόλμα τε καὶ
σθένει.

49. ἐπὶ ξενίαν κ.τ.λ.] *to the home of Pamphaes, seeking friendly entertainment.* Pamphaes was a remote ancestor of Theaeus' mother. Many epiphanies were attributed to the Tyndarids, for example they were said to have appeared in a battle fought at Sagra between the Locrians and Crotoniates. The story of the rescue of Simonides at the court of Scopas is well known.

50. οὐ θαῦμα σφίσιν κ.τ.λ.] *No marvel that it should be a quality of their race to be good athletes.* σφίσιν, the persons spoken of in the preceding strophe and antistrophe. ἔμμεν, as Mezger pointed out, does double duty, linking (1) θαῦμα with ἐγγενές, (2) ἐγγενές with ἀεθληταῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν.

51, 52. ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ.] The Dioscori were regarded as patrons of gymnastic contests. In Sparta they were worshipped as 'Starters': πρὸς δὲ τοῦ δρόμου τῇ ἀρχῇ Διόσκουροι τέ εἰσιν Ἀφετήριοι, Pausanias III. 14. 7. They were related to have won victories in the Olympic games, Castor in the footrace, Polydeukes in boxing (Pausanias v. 8. 4), and their altar stood at the entrance of the Olympic hippodrome (*ib.* 15. 5). They also contended in the stadion of Hermione (Pausanias, II. 34. 10). These links with the games instituted by *Heracles* and with *Hermione*, explain Ἑρμῆ καὶ σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ.

To the Dioscori was ascribed the invention of the war-dance in Sparta (see Athenaeus IV. 14 e; schol. Pind. *Pyth.* v. 128), and thus the epithet εὐρυχόρου (*spacious for dancing*) in this context is seen to be peculiarly appropriate. Pindar applies the adjective also to Asia (*Ol.* VII. 18), Libya (*Pyth.* IV. 43), and Argos (*Pyth.* VIII. 55). For μοῖραν ἀγώνων cf. *Ol.* VI. 79 ὃς ἀγῶνας ἔχει μοῖραν τ' ἀέθλων. For διέποντι and θάλειαν see above, note on l. 37, and *Introduction* p. 190.

Render: *For the guardians of Sparta's spacious dancing-floor, with Hermes and Heracles, order games, their graceful charge, and for just men they care exceedingly. Yea verily, the gods are sure.*

μάλα μὲν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων περικαδόμενοι. καὶ μὲν θεῶν πιστὸν γένος.

στρ. δ'.

μεταμειβόμενοι δ' ἐναλλάξ ἡμέραν τὰν μὲν παρὰ πατρὶ φίλῃ 55
Δὶ νέμονται, τὰν δ' ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίας ἐν γυάλοις Θεράπνας,
πότμον ἀμπιπλάντες ὁμοῖον· ἐπεὶ
τοῦτον ἢ πάμπαν θεὸς ἔμμεναι οἰκεῖν τ' οὐρανῷ
εἴλετ' αἰῶνα φθιμένον Πολυδεύκης Καστορος ἐν πολέμῳ·
τὸν γὰρ Ἰδας ἀμφὶ βουσὶν πῶς χολωθείς ἔτρωσε χαλκίας
λόγχας ἀκᾶ. 60

54. **μάλα μὲν]** *μὲν* implies another clause, unexpressed and unnecessary, οὐ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων περικαδόμενοι. One of the functions of the Tyndaridae was the saving and helping of men; see *Introduction*.

θεῶν] For the responson of *θεῶν* l. 18 and the echo of *πιστὸν* in l. 78 see *Introduction*, pp. 191 and 195.

55. **μεταμειβόμενοι]** *Passing from heaven to Hades and back again; ἐναλλάξ, day about* (schol. *ἐναλλάσσοντες τὰς ἡμέρας*). Compare λ 301,

τοὺς ἄμφω ζωὸς κατέχει φυσίχοος αἶα
οἳ καὶ νέρθεν γῆς τιμὴν πρὸς Ζηνὸς
ἔχοντες

ἄλλοτε μὲν ζῶουσ' ἑτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ'
ἀπτε

τεθνᾶσιν, τιμὴν δὲ λελόγχασιν ἴσα θεοῖσι. *Pyth.* XI. 94 υἱοὶ θεῶν τὸ μὲν παρ' ἅμαρ ἔδραιοι Θεράπνας τὸ δ' οἰκέοντες ἔνδον Ὀλύμπου. Also Γ 243.

56. **ὑπὸ κεύθεσι κ.τ.λ.]** *in the subterranean hollows of Theraḗna* (schol. *ἐν τοῖς ὑπογείοις τῆς Θεράπνας*). *ὑπὸ κεύθεσι* = *ἐν ὑπογείοις κεύθεσι*. γύαλα occurs in *Pyth.* VIII. 61 of the vales of Pytho. Compare Alcman *frag.* 5 ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν τῆς Θεράπνης εἶναι λέγονται ζῶντες.

ἀμπιπλάντες] *eking out, fulfilling.*

ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ.] *For when Castor perished in war, Polydeukes preferred this way of life to being completely a god and dwelling in heaven.* εἴλετο takes ἦ like a comparative.

60. **τὸν γὰρ Ἰδας κ.τ.λ.]** Schol.: 'the tale is as follows: Lynceus and Idas, the sons of Aphareus wooed Phoebe and Hilaria, the two daughters of Leucippus, and at the marriage festivities invited the Dioscori to the banquet. But they carried off the maidens and fled, and the bridegrooms pursued. And a battle took place between the sons of Aphareus and the Dioscori, for the matter of the marriage, and Castor is slain. Then Polydeukes slew both, Zeus assisting him in the work and sending lightning against them. But, according to Pindar's version, the quarrel arose not on account of brides, but on account of driving away oxen'.

In making the matter a dispute about oxen, Pindar agrees with the *Cypria*, *frag.* 9. The four heroes made a joint raid in Arcadia and stole a herd of oxen. Idas and his brother managed to drive the whole herd to Messenia, but Castor and Polydeukes went in pursuit and in turn appropriated the whole spoil. This was the cause of the ire of Idas. **τόν** is Castor.

ἀκᾶ] Here and in *Nem.* VI. 52 *αἰχμᾶ* is found in the mss. where it is metrically impossible. Editors with one accord read *ἀκμᾶ*. But had *ἀκμᾶ*, a common word, been originally written, it would never have been altered. I therefore restore the rare word *ἀκά* in both passages (see note on *Nem.* VI. 52). In *Isthm.* III. 69 *αἰχμᾶ*, which editors after

ἀπὸ Ταῦγέτου πεδαιγάζων ἴδεν Λυγκεὺς δρυὸς ἐν στελέχει αὐτ. δ'.
 ἡμένος. κείνου γὰρ ἐπιχθονίων πάντων γένετ' ὀξύτατον
 ὄμμα. λαιψηροῖς δὲ πόδεσσιν ἄφαρ

Pauwius used to change to ἀκμᾶ, has been rightly defended by Christ.

61. ἀπὸ Ταῦγέτου κ.τ.λ.] *Spying from Taygetus Lynceus saw them sitting in the trunk of an oak.*—Asyndeton in narrative is characteristic of Pindar; cf. below l. 75.—The MSS. have πόδ' αὐγάζων. πεδαιγάζων is the excellent correction of Triclinius. πεδ- has the same force as μετὰ in μεταμαίομαι: *looking for them*. Mr Fennell ingeniously proposed περαυγάζων.

62. ἡμένος] MSS. ἡμενος, corrected by Didymus. Thiersch attempted to improve on this by writing ἡμένω.—Aristarchus read ἡμενον (which Bergk accepted in his latest ed.), in order, acc. to the schol., to make Pindar's story agree with the account in the *Cypria*. But, as Didymus pointed out, the tale in the *Cypria* (see below) represents both brothers in the oak. It seems probable that the words ἦλθε Λήδας παῖς δῶκων misled Aristarchus into the idea that Castor and Polydeukes were not together, when the deadly stroke was dealt. But ἦλθε is relative to the place which the assailants had reached in their flight, not to the oak. From a critical point of view ἡμέμος is impregnable. ἡμενον would never have become ἡμενος, whereas ἡμέμος could hardly have avoided such a corruption without the intervention of a miracle.—As the scholia on this line are of considerable interest and have excited much discussion among German scholars, the space required for their reproduction will not be misexpended. Schol. ὁ μὲν Ἀριστάρχος ἀξιοῖ γράφειν ἡμενον, ἀκολουθῶς τῇ ἐν τοῖς Κυπρίοις λεγομένη ἱστορίᾳ· ὁ γὰρ τὰ Κύπρια συγγράψας φησὶ τὸν Κάστορα ἐν τῇ δρυὶ κρυφθέντα ὀφθῆναι ὑπὸ Λυγκέως· τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ γραφῇ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος [see *Bibliotheca* III. 11, 2]

κατηκολούθησε. πρὸς οὓς φησι Δίδυμος· ἀμφοτέρων ὑπὸ τῇ δρυὶ λοχώντων, τοῦ τε Κάστορος καὶ τοῦ Πολυδεύκου, μόνον ὁ Λυγκεὺς τὸν Κάστορα εἶδε; μήποτε οὖν φησι δεῖν ἀναγινώσκειν τὴν παραλήγουσαν συλλαβὴν ὀξύτῳ ἡμέμος ὡς ἡρμένος ἵνα κατ' ἀμφοῖν ἀκούηται· ἴδε Λυγκεὺς δρυὸς ἐν στελέχει ἡμέμος, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡμέμου, δηλονότι τοὺς Διοσκοῦρους· ὡς ἀελλόπος καὶ τρίπος· οὐχ ἔδος ἐστὶ, γεραιέ, ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐχ ἔδους. § παρατίθενται [παρατίθεται?] δὲ καὶ τὸν τὰ Κύπρια γράψαντα οὕτω λέγοντα αἴψα δὲ Λυγκεὺς

Τῆϋγετον προσέβαινε ποσὶν ταχέεσσι
 πεποιθώς·

ἀκρότατον δ' ἀναβὰς διεδέρκετο νῆσον
 ἅπασαν

Τανταλίδου Πέλοπος, τάχα δ' εἶσιδε
 κύδιμος ἥρως

ὀξέσιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔσω κοίλης δρυὸς
 ἄμφω

Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ ἀεθλοφόρον
 Πολυδεύκεα.

νύξε δ' ἄρ' ἄγχι στὰς μεγάλην δρυὶν
 καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάστωρ ἐλόχα τὸν Ἴδαν, φησὶν [Didymus], ἐν κοίλῃ δρυὶ κρυφθεὶς καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα· ὁ δὲ Λυγκεὺς ὀξυτερκῆς ὢν ὥστε καὶ διὰ λίθων καὶ διὰ γῆς τὰ γινόμενα βλέπειν ἰδὼν διὰ τῆς δρυὸς τὸν Κάστορα ἔτρωσε λόγχῃ.

κείνου γάρ κ.τ.λ.] *For of all men on earth his eye was keenest*; cf. Swinburne's 'keenest eye of Lynceus' (*Atlantia in Calydon*, p. 52).

63. λαιψηροῖς κ.τ.λ.] *And with storming feet they arrived speedily, and contrived swiftly a great deed, and underwent sore usage, those sons of Speed, by the handlings of Zeus.* There is a play on the name Ἀφαρεύς, which Pindar connected with ἄφαρ, and interpreted Sudden or Speedy. It will be observed that words noting speed are mustered: λαιψηροῖς, ἄφαρ, ὠκέως, Ἀφαρητίδαι, αὐτῖκα.

ἐξικέσθαι, καὶ μέγα Φέργον ἐμήσαντ' ὠκέως,
καὶ πάθον δεινὸν παλάμαις Ἀφαρητίδαι Διός· αὐτίκα γὰρ 65
ἦλθε Λήδας παῖς διώκων· τοὶ δ' ἔναντα στάθεν τύμβῳ σχεδὸν
πατρῴῳ·

ἐνθεν ἀρπάξαντες ἄγαλμ' Ἀΐδα, ξεστὸν πέτρον, ἐπ. δ'.
ἔμβαλον στέρνῳ Πολυδεύκεος· ἀλλ' οὐ νιν φλάσαν,
οὐδ' ἀνέχασσαν· ἐφορμαθεῖς δ' ἄρ' ἄκοντι θοῶ
ἦλασε Λυγκέος ἐν πλευραῖσι χαλκόν. 70
Ζεὺς δ' ἐπ' Ἴδα πυρφόρον πλάξε ψολόοντα κεραυνόν·
ἅμα δ' ἐκαίοντ' ἐρήμοι. χαλεπὰ δ' ἔρις ἀνθρώποις ὀμιλεῖν
κρεσσόνων.

For λαιψηροῖς cf. *Pyth.* ix. 121 φύγε λαιψηρὸν δρόμον, and *Ol.* xii. 4 λαιψηροὶ πόλεμοι, *storming wars*.—The form Ἀφαρητίδαι is noticeable. It seems to imply a nominative Ἀφάρης (Gen. -ητος) or Ἀφάρητος, but of such forms there seems to be no trace. From Ἀφαρεύς we should expect Ἀφαρείδης or Ἀφαρηΐδης.

ἐμήσαντ' is Schmid's correction of ἐμνήσαντ' D, ἐμνήσατ' BB. — For the responson of παλάμαις to the same word in l. 5 see *Introduction*, p. 194. The best comment on παλάμη in this context is Pindar's own coinage πυρπάλαμον βέλος ὀρσικτύπου Διός, *Ol.* x. 80.

65. αὐτίκα γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] *For instantly came the son of Leda (Polydeukes) in pursuit. But they were stationed over against them, hard by their father's tomb; from the which having snatched a headstone of Hades, a polished rock, they hurled it at the chest of Polydeukes; but they did not fell him nor force him to flinch; nay, rushing upon them with rapid lance he drave home the brass in the sides of Lynceus.*

σχεδὸν in Pindar is always used of local proximity.

67. ἄγαλμ' Ἀΐδα] A stele in honour of Hades. Schol. στήλην ἐνδὸς τῶν κειμένων ἀρπάσαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τύμβου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν Ἀφαρέως. Dissen compares μέλος Ἀΐδα (θρήνος) in Euripides, *Electra* 143,

and other similar phrases.

For the significance of this incident see above, *Introduction*, p. 194 sq.

68. Πολυδεύκεος] This word occurs in l. 50, the second verse of 3rd epode, and in the same position in the verse.

καὶ κασιγνήτου Πολυδεύκεος (50)

ἔμβαλον στέρνῳ Πολυδεύκεος (68).

See *Introduction*, p. 195. φλάω like θλάω is a word appropriate to boxing.—The active of χάσμαι occurs in Xenophon, *Anabasis* iv. 1, 12. ἀνέχασσαν (schol. ὑποχωρῆσαι εἰς τοῦπίσω πεποιθήκασιν) was restored by Wakefield for ἀνέσχασσαν D (and mss. of Triclinius) and ἀνέχασαν B.

71. Ζεὺς δ' ἐπ' Ἴδα κ.τ.λ.] *And Zeus whirled against Idas a fiery bolt of lurid (or sooty) lightning; and in the lonely place they were consumed together.*—πυρφόρος (ignifer) and ψολόεις are ἀπαξ εἰρημένα in Pindar; and no part of πλῆσσω occurs elsewhere in his extant works. The sense of πλάξε here (not strike, but cast or hurl for a stroke) is also unusual.

Schol. ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς πυρφόρον καὶ τεφρώδη κεραυνὸν προσέρρηξεν ἀμφοτέροις, ὁμοῦ δὲ ἐκαίοντο ἐρημωθέντες.

72. χαλεπὰ δ' ἔρις κ.τ.λ.] *For men, a strife with stronger than they is difficult to encounter.* Compare *Ol.* xi. 39 νεῖκος δὲ κρεσσόνων ἀποθέσθ' ἄπορον.

στρ. ε'.

ταχέως δ' ἐπ' ἀδελφεοῦ βίαν πάλιν χώρησεν ὁ Τυνδαρίδας,
καὶ νιν οὐπω τεθναότ', ἄσθματι δὲ φρίσσοντα πνοαῖς ἔκιχεν.

θερμὰ τέγγων δάκρυ' ἅμα στοναχαῖς

75

ὄρθιον φώνασε· Πάτερ Κρονίων, τίς δὴ λύσις

ἔσσεται πενθέων; καὶ ἐμοὶ θάνατον σὺν τῷδ' ἐπίτειλον, ἄναξ.

οἴχεται τιμὰ φίλων τατωμένῳ φωτί· παῦροι δ' ἐν πόνῳ πιστοὶ
βροτῶν

74. καὶ νιν κ.τ.λ.] *And he found him not yet dead, but with a gasp shuddering through his jaws.*

ΒΒ φρίσσοντ' ἀμπνοὰς ἔκιχε, D φρίσσοντ' ἀναπνοὰς ἔκιχε. Schmid read φρίσσοντα πνοὰς ἔκιχεν. From the reading of the scholium in D τὰς δὲ γονὰς [B πνοὰς] ὑποψυχουμένας ὑπὸ τῆς φρίκης, Mommsen restores both in the scholium and in the text γένυς (or γένυας). Compare Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* xxv. 534 καὶ ψυχραῖς γενέσσει παλμπνοον ἄσθμα τιταλῶν (quoted by Abel in note on scholia, p. 325). I fail to see (1) why γένυς should have been corrupted to γονὰς (indeed γονὰς has rather the appearance of a blur) and (2) why γένυς should have been altered in the text and left no trace.—The true reading is clearly πνοὰς, restored by Schmid; ἀμπνοὰς was a very natural gloss, subsequently regarded as a correction and introduced into the text. Just as ἀκοαί was used in the sense of ears and ὄψεις in the sense of eyes, so πνοὰς here means the *regions of breath*; and this meets the objection that φρίσσειν can be used only of parts of the body (φρίσσειν *de membris vel partibus corporis dici solet*, Bergk). For a vowel short before πν see *Nem.* III. 41 ἀλλὰ πνέων.

75. θερμὰ κ.τ.λ.] ΒΒ θερμὰ δὲ τέγγων, D θερμὰ δὲ τέγων. Various proposals have been made for the restoration of the metre. Schmid θερμὰ δὴ τέγγων, Schneidewin θερμὰ δὲ στάζων, Hermann θερμὰ δὲ στέγγων. Bergk saw that the corruption more probably lay in the latter part of the line, δὲ being an insertion, partly

to fill up the complement of syllables, partly to supply the usual transitional particle. He first proposed to read ἀνὰ στοναχαῖς, ἀνὰ belonging to φώνασε; but in his 4th ed. reads δάκρυ' ὑπὸ στοναχαῖς, *tears falling to the sound of groans*. He does not however explain how ὑπὸ fell out.

In forming a judgment on the passage, four points occur; (1) the effect is bettered by the absence of δὲ; (2) στοναχαῖς almost requires a preposition; (3) in the two other places in Pindar where δάκρυ occurs, *Pyth.* IV. 121, *frag.* 122, 3, the first syllable is long; (4) δὴ is improbable as it occurs in the following line. I therefore propose

θερμὰ τέγγων δάκρυ' ἅμα στοναχαῖς
lacrimas inter gemitus fundens, shedding warm tears and making moan.

ΔΑΚΡΥΑΜΑ

was probably read δάκρυμα or δακρύματα and afterwards corrected to δάκρυα.—στοναχά does not occur elsewhere in Pindar. Compare Soph. *Trach.* 848 τέγγειν δακρύων ἄχραν.

76. ὄρθιον φώνασε] *lifted up his voice, or cried with a loud voice, 'O father, Cronos' son, when, O when will there be deliverance from my sorrows? Upon me too, O lord, lay the charge of death along with him. Honour clean forsakes a man when he is rest of his friends. But in the hour of need few mortals are true, to take a share in the travail of a comrade'.*

78. παῦροι κ.τ.λ.] For responsions cf. II. 24 and 54. The scholia explain παῦροι as really meaning an absolute negative:

ἀντ. ε΄.

καμάτου μεταλαμβάνειν. ὥς ἔννεπε· Ζεὺς δ' ἀντίος ἤλυθέ· Φοῖ
καὶ τόδ' ἐξαύδασ' ἔπος· Ἐσσί μοι υἱός· τόνδε δ' ἔπειτα πόσις 80
σπέρμα θνατὸν ματρὶ τεῇ πελάσαις
στάξεν ἥρως. ἀλλ' ἄγε τῶνδ' ἐμοὶ ἔμπαν αἵρεσιν
παρδίδωμ'· εἰ μὲν θάνατόν τε φυχὼν καὶ γῆρας ἀπεχθόμενον
αὐτὸς οἰκεῖν αἴτος Οὐλύμπου θέλεις σὺν τ' Ἀθαναίᾳ κελευεργχεῖ
τ' Ἄρει·

ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐδὲ ὀλίγοι· ὡς καὶ παρ' Ὅμ-
ήρῳ·

ἦ ὀλίγον οἱ παῖδα εἰκότα γείνατο Τυ-
δεύς.

κ.τ.λ.

79. ἀντίος ἤλυθέ· Φοῖ] I have printed the reading of D, but it is remarkable that BB have ἀντία. I am inclined to believe that Pindar wrote ἀντί· ἐλήλυθέ· Φοῖ, the perfect tense vividly expressing that Zeus has already drawn nigh while Polydeukes is still speaking. ἐλελυθε was liable to become ἤλυθε, and the divergency of the MSS. would thus be accounted for. The fact that ἐλήλυθα (though occurring in Herodotus) is not found elsewhere in Pindar makes me hesitate.

80. ἐξαύδασ'·] Observe that αὐδᾶν is used here and in 89 of the utterance of a god.

ἐσσί μοι υἱός κ.τ.λ.] *My son thou art; but after me the hero, her lord, approached thy mother and begat him with drops of mortal seed.* ἔπειτα is used as if *I begat thee* had preceded. τόνδε σπέρμα στάξεν = τόνδε ἐσπείρε (cf. ψήφους ἔθεντο with an object, = ἐψηφίσαντο, in *Agamemnon*, l. 816, according to the usual explanation).—σπέρμα θνατὸν contrasts with the σπέρμ' ἀδείμαντον of l. 17. στάξεν is the correction of Pauw for ἔσταξεν of the MSS.

82. ἀλλ'—ἔμπαν] Notwithstanding the fact that thy brother is a mortal. ἄγε has a consolatory force. τῶνδ' ἐμοὶ αἵρεσιν παρδίδωμι, *I place these courses at the disposition of thy choice.*

83. γῆρας ἀπεχθόμενον] *loath'd old*, a notion characteristically Greek.

84. αὐτός κ.τ.λ.] The MSS. have αὐτὸς Ὀλυμπον ἐθέλεις σὺν τ' Ἀθαναίᾳ κ.τ.λ.

a line metrically defective. If we read Ὀὔλυμπον θέλεις we require four additional syllables, either after θέλεις (— — —), or before Ὀὔλυμπον (— — —); and the sense demands a verb signifying *to dwell*. The scholiast shews that he had such an infinitive in his text, by the paraphrase αὐτὸς βούλει τὸν οὐρανὸν οἰκεῖν σὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ Ἄρει, words which have been thought to point to ἐμοὶ or some equivalent before σὺν. Benedictus accordingly inserted οἰκεῖν ἐμοί. Boeckh *ναλεῖν* ἐμοί after θέλεις. Schmid read Ὀὔλυμπον κατοικῆσαι θέλεις, Mommsen Ὀὔλυμπον νέμειν μέλλεις ἐμοί, Kayser *νοεῖς οἰκεῖν ἐμοί*, Hartung *συνοικεῖν μοι ἐθέλεις*.

Among all these conjectures there is little to choose, for not one of them pretends to account for the omission of the words supplied. It is clear that a verb meaning *to dwell* is required after θέλεις, and it is safer to adopt οἰκεῖν from the scholium than to guess a synonym. As for ἐμοί, we may well believe that, as Boeckh said, the scholiast added that frigid σὺν ἐμοί out of his own head.—My restoration, printed in the text, explains the corruption as an instance of parablepsia.

ΔΥΤΟΚΟΙΚΕΙΝΑΙΤΟΚΟΥΛΥΜΠΟΥΘΕΛΕΙC. When he had written αὐτός, the scribe glanced again at his 'copy', and his eye, falling not on the word he had written

ἔστι σοὶ τούτων λάχος· εἰ δὲ κασιγνήτου πέρι ἐπ. ε'. 85
 μάρνασαι, πάντων δὲ νοεῖς ἀποδάσσεσθαι Εἴσον,
 ἥμισυ μὲν κε πνέοις γαίης ὑπένερθεν ἑών,
 ἥμισυ δ' οὐρανοῦ ἐν χρυσέοις δόμοισιν.
 ὥς ἄρ' αὐδάσαντος οὐ γνώμα διπλόαν θέτο βουλάν.

but on the almost identical *αἶτος*, passed on to Οὐλύμπου, so that the two words *οἰκεῖν αἶτος* were omitted. Οὐλύμπου was subsequently altered to Οὐλυμπον, as the object of θέλεις. (For "Ολυμπον in the MSS., cf. *Ol.* XIII. 92, where the MSS. have 'Ολύμπω for Οὐλύμπω.)

The rare word *αἶτος* occurs in *Ol.* III. 17, where the reading of the best MSS. has been rightly preserved by Bergk:

πιστὰ φρονέων Διὸς αἶτει πανδόκῳ
 ἄλσει.

The word is recognized as Pindaric and explained by Eustathius 381, 27; λέγει δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐν 'Ολυμπιονίκαις καὶ ὡς αἶτος τὸ ἐνδιατήμα, οἷον Διὸς αἶτει πανδόκῳ. Pindar uses his rare words deliberately, and part of my justification of *αἶτος* is a demonstration how it contributes to render perspicuous the chain of thought. Theaeus' contention for Olympian honours answers to Polydeukes' contention for his brother's fellowship, as is indicated by *περί* (ἀμιλλᾶται) in l. 31 answering exactly to *πέρι* (μάρνασαι) in l. 85. And there is a further parallel. For Polydeukes it is possible to make two requests; he chooses that which involves hardship. And so likewise Theaeus has a choice of prayers; it is said in line 30 that he *does not ask amiss*, but his heart has the will to endure *travail*, if need be. Well, Polydeukes would have asked amiss (*παραιτεῖται*) if he had chosen the *αἶτος* Οὐλύμπου unreservedly, without the habitation underground; just as Theaeus would ask amiss if he prayed for an Olympian victory, his *αἶτος* Οὐλύμπου, with a heart unprepared for toil. *αἶτος* and *παραιτεῖται* occur each in the last line of an antistrophos. It is well to observe that in the Third Olympian Ode

also, the introduction of this word *αἶτος* is the occasion of a paronomasia, there *Αἰτωλός* (as I pointed out in *Hermathena*, 1887, XIII. p. 187).

κελαινεγχεῖ τ' Ἀρεῖ] Other epithets applied by Pindar to Ares are *βαθυπόλεμος*, *βιατὰς*, *χάλκεος* (as in Homer), *χάλκασπις*. On this passage Dissen writes 'h.e. vivere in consortio bellicosorum deorum, ut ipse bella amas et gloriam bellicam'. For the connexion of Ares and Athena cf. *Hymn. Hom.* XI. 2 *δεινὴν ἣ σὺν Ἀρμὶ μέλει πολεμῆμα ἔργα*. In the Homeric hymn (really an Orphic hymn, most probably) to *Ares*, he is called *δορυσθενὲς ἔρκος* 'Ολύμπου (l. 3) and *δικαιοτάτων ἀγέ φωτῶν* (l. 5).—*Sivart* applied to the war god's spear means bloody; cf. *κελαινεφές αἶμα* in I 36, *μελάνδετον φόνω ξίφος* in Euripides, *Orestes* 821, *κελαινὸν ξίφος* in Sophocles, *Ajax* 231, &c.

85. ἔστι κ.τ.λ.] *it is thine to inherit this lot*. Hermann gratuitously reads τῶν μὲν for τούτων, after μὲν τούτων of the ed. Romana.

εἰ δέ κ.τ.λ.] *But if thou contendest for thy brother, and it be thy purpose to impart to him a like share in all things, thou must draw half thy breath in places under earth and the other half in the golden halls of heaven*.

For μάρναμαι with *περί* Dissen compares II 497 *αὐτὰρ ἐπειτα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμεῦ πέρι μάρναο χαλκῷ*.

87. ἥμισυ] Schol. τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τοῦ χρόνου ἔξις ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν διατρίβων, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τοῖς τιμίοις τῶν θεῶν οἴκοις.

89. οὐ γνῶμα κ.τ.λ.] Schol. οὐ κατεμερίσθη τὴν γνώμην ὁ Πολυδεύκης. Compare *Ol.* VIII. 85 *εὐχομαι ἀμφὶ καλῶν μοῖρα νέμεσιν διχόβουλον μὴ θέμεν*. *Poly-*

ἀνὰ δ' ἔλυσεν μὲν ὀφθαλμόν, ἔπειτα δὲ φωνὴν χαλκομίτρα
Κάστωρος. 90

deukes divided not the bent of his judgment, lit. set not two counsels in his judgment.

90. ἀνά κ.τ.λ.] *But he* (Polydeukes—not Zeus, as is wrongly suggested in a scholium) *unclosed the eye and then released*

the voice of brass-girdled Castor. This is the λύσις prayed for in l. 76.—The *μίτρα* was a woollen girdle plated with bronze. In Theocritus, xx. 136, Castor is addressed as *ταχύπωλε δορυσσόε χαλκεοθώρηξ*.

[NEMEAN] XI.

ODE IN HONOUR OF ARISTAGORAS OF TENEDOS, ON THE OCCASION OF HIS INSTALLATION AS PRYTANIS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE island of Tenedos, noted for the beauty of its women—‘the most beautiful in the world,’ an ancient writer said¹—was perhaps a land of handsome men also; two handsome men at least, commemorated in Pindar’s verses, have survived the despites of time. In a *skolion*, admitting us to a secret of his personal life, he records the masterful, perhaps voluptuous, beauty of Theoxenus of Tenedos and its influence on his own ‘love-tost’ soul, here suffering a rapture and expressing itself in rapturous words, which may be set beside the poem of Sappho, also fragmentary, addressed to a young girl. The colder and maturer comeliness of Aristagoras, nobly born in the same island, has been likewise thrown up from the sea of lost beautiful things, and still lives, visible at least to the imagination, through the accident that Pindar was invited to write a hymn for the occasion of his investiture with the office of President of his native city².

No man in Tenedos could have enjoyed a more enviable social position than Aristagoras. Among the ancient families there was one which traced its origin to the Peloponnesian city of Amyclae, from which at the time of the Dorian invasion a noble named Pisander had gone forth in company with Orestes himself, and sought a new home in the ‘Trojan island,’ at the head of a party of Aeolians, whom he had enlisted in Boeotia. One of the Theban adventurers who sailed to try his fortune with Pisander was Melanippus, a hero who had won some fame in legend by wounding Tydeus. The Melanippids and the Pisandrids were thus peers in claims to ancient nobility, and at a date which cannot be more closely determined than as probably prior to 500 B.C. Arcesilaus a Pisandrid married a Melanippid lady. Their son Aristagoras had inherited from this noble ancestry a beauty of that lofty, physically intrepid type, which inspired Greek

¹ Nymphodorus quoted by Athenaeus, Bk. XIII. 609 E καὶ Νυμφόδωρος δ' ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀσίας περίπλῳ καλλιονὰς φησι γίνεσθαι τῶν πανταχοῦ γυναικῶν ἐν Τενέδῳ τῇ Τρωικῇ νήσῳ.

² The ceremony was called εἰσιτήρια.—For this Ode, the only complete extant work of Pindar which is not an Epinician, see the general *Introduction*, section 2.

sculpture, lending itself well to repose,—statuesque or ‘moveless’ (*ἀτρεμής*)¹. He had won sixteen triumphs in wrestling and that combination of wrestling and boxing which was called the pancration, at games held in neighbouring Asiatic cities, but had never contended in the greater Panhellenic festivals, restrained through some diffidence, ill-judged in Pindar’s opinion, of his parents.

Excelling in beauty, and distinguished by success, truly of a somewhat provincial kind, the President (*Prytanis*),—in the picture drawn by Pindar—accompanied by the Senate, enters the Public Dining-hall of the city to propitiate Hestia with the sacrifices and libations, which were used to celebrate the annual installation of a President. In her shrine there was a statue of the goddess, with a golden sceptre in her hand, and here the chief citizens, who were themselves her only priests, might feel drawn together as members of a large family, standing round the public ‘hearth.’ A banquet was prepared, and perhaps, while the senators and their guests feasted, the hymn composed by Pindar was sung to the sound of lyres.

This hymn falls into three parts. Hestia is invoked to welcome her worshippers, and to keep in glory and defend against perils during his year of office the new Prytanis, who may perhaps have had grave cause to fear the outbreak of some domestic faction². The goddess is invoked to defend; but the man himself—really blessed by nature and fortune—is admonished that surpassing beauty, wealth and brave exploits cannot deliver a mortal from the supreme shroud of clay. The terms in which this gloomy fact is expressed suggest that Aristagoras was a ‘glass of fashion’ as well as a ‘mould of form,’ somewhat of an ‘exquisite’ perhaps in personal adornment, or studious at least to compose the folds of his tunic and mantle for displaying most becomingly the graces of his limbs. *‘Let him remember that the limbs which he dresses are mortal and that the end of all his dressings will be a shroud of earth.’*

This is the first part of the hymn. The second tells what Aristagoras has done and what he has left undone. His brilliant victories deserve praise and song; but a man of such quality might have confidently striven for crowns at Olympia or Castalia. The ‘halting hopes of his parents’ held him back, and Pindar, deprecating diffidence, as much as vain confidence, suggests a picture of one denied grasping the prizes he might attain, by a hand plucking him from behind—the hand of the faint heart, that, as we say, ‘never won fair lady.’

In the third part of the ode the ancestry of Aristagoras is mentioned, with an implication that the blood of heroes, not perhaps perceptible in previous

¹ Such is the impression made on me by Pindar’s *θαῖτον εἶδος ἀτρεμλαν τε σύγγονον*, where the felicity of *ἀτρεμλαν* is its double intent, signifying both physical and moral character.—The word *moveless*, which I used above, served Wordsworth in a description of a swan.

² The strong phrase *σὺν ἀνθρώπῳ καρδίῃ* in l. 10, combined with the significant mention of *good* citizens in l. 17, supports Mezger’s assertion ‘dass es an unruhigen Elementen in Tenedos nicht fehlte’ (p. 484).

descendants, is at length reasserting its continued life in him. As in crops and trees, so in the generations of men, nature reserves her forces. It was strange (Pindar suggests) that his parents should be unaware of the heroic powers indwelling in their son; for in his case the horoscope was superficially patent; though generally such insight is hardly possible for mortals. Errors in this kind of divination more frequently move in the path of extravagant hopes, and in this connexion, by a subtle poetical enchantment there rises before us, dim and unobtrusive, a vision of life, as a sea, and men thereon sailing in ships, the which are great enterprises, bound on many quests, and driven by the wind of Fate. They are unable to desist from rowing, because they are chained to the oars of Hope; and in the heaven, alas! Zeus has set no sure pilot-star. Moreover the rivers of foreknowledge flow not into this sea, but have their course in other far regions. The vision vanishes; and the conclusion is the doctrine of the Measure, the principle of all Greek wisdom, which regarded excessive desires, sighs for the unattainable, as a form of madness.

It will be observed that the thread—the logical thread, we may say—round which this ode is spun, is curiously simple. In the first system we are reminded that the strong and fair are mortal; this established, the second and third systems deal with the two great errors to which such mortals are exposed, undue diffidence and undue confidence,—the former, of course, the rarer and less harmful¹. To catch and hold the Measure is really the problem of the art of life; but the implied comparison of this art to that of guiding a ship without charts or fixed stars suggests gloomy forebodings touching the chances of the mariners. Here we have a glimpse of what we may call a resigned pessimism, latent in the depths of the Greek spirit, sometimes peering forth, ultimately proving an element of decay, but never, in early days, troubling its cheerfulness or impairing its grace.

¹ The consecution of thought is indicated by *θανάτῃ* l. 15, *βροτῶν* l. 29, *θανόντων* l. 42. Mezger has noticed that *ὀκνηρότεραι ἐλπίδες* in l. 22 is the counter-phrase to *ἐλπίδι* in l. 46 (followed by *ὀξύτεραι* in

l. 48). I may add that *κενεόφρονες αὔχαι* (29) are opposed to the true *αὔχη* of Aristagoras implied in *μεγαυχεῖ παγκρατίῳ* (21).

METRICAL ANALYSIS.

STROPHE.

A.

$\nu, 1. \quad \alpha. \quad \frac{1}{2} \cup - - \frac{1}{2} \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \frac{1}{2} \cup - \Lambda \quad 7.$
 $\nu, 2. \quad \alpha'. \quad \frac{1}{2} \cup - - - \cup - - \frac{1}{2} \cup \cup - \cup \cup - - \quad 7.$

B.

v. 3. *b*. $\frac{1}{2} \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \frac{1}{2} \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \Lambda$ 6.
 v. 4. *b'*. $\frac{1}{2} \cup - - - \cup - - - \cup - \Lambda$ 6.
 v. 5. *c*. $\frac{1}{2} \cup \cup - . - \cup - . | \frac{1}{2} \cup - - - \cup \cup - \Lambda$ 8.

ΕΠΟΔΕ.

[illegible]

The rhythm of *b*, is so signally different from *a*, *a'*, that, although it has the same *μέγεθος*, it is clearly meant to be epodic. The rhythmical construction of the first epode is adapted with singular felicity to the sense.

The rhythm is dactylo-epitritic.

ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑΙ ΤΕΝΕΔΙΩΙ

ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙ.

Παῖ 'Ρέας, ἃ τε πρυτανεῖα λέλογχας, 'Εστία, στρ. α'.
 Ζηνὸς ὑψίστου κασινγήτα καὶ ὁμοθρόνου 'Ηρας,
 εὖ μὲν 'Αρισταγόραν δέξαι τεδὸν ἐς θάλαμον,
 εὖ δ' ἑταίρους ἀγλαῶ σκάπτῳ πέλας,
 οἳ σε γεραίροντες ὀρθὰν φυλάσσοισιν Τένεδον, 5

πολλὰ μὲν λοιβαῖσιν ἀγαζόμενοι πρόταν θεῶν, ἀντ. α'.
 πολλὰ δὲ κνίσᾳ λύρα δέ σφι βρέμεται καὶ ἀοιδά·

1. **πρυτανεῖα λέλογχας**] Schol. τὰ πρυτανεῖα φησι λαχεῖν τὴν 'Εστίαν, παρόσον αἱ τῶν πόλεων ἐστίαι ἐν τοῖς πρυτανείοις ἀφιδρύνται καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν λεγόμενον πῦρ ἐπὶ τούτων ἀπόκειται. λέλογχας signifies that the Prytanea are part of Hestia's sphere, assigned to her in the mythical division of functions among the gods, see *Ol.* VII. 55.

2. **ὁμοθρόνου**] *sharer of his throne* ('throno duas sedes habente', Dissen). For a throne of many seats, see *Nem.* IV. 66.

3. **εὖ μὲν** κ.τ.λ.] *Welcome Aristagoras into thy chamber, yea welcome his companions near thy shining sceptre.* It is impossible to reproduce the force of θάλαμος applied to the shrine of a goddess; used of a woman's habitation it can be rendered *chamber*.—It was first pointed out by Boeckh that the ἑταίρους are not τοὺς συμπρυτανεύοντας, as the schol. says, but the senators of Tenedos. It is not known what the official name of the senatorial

body was; we may assume it to have been βουλή. We learn from this passage that in Tenedos, as in Athens (see Pausanias, I. 18. 3), a statue of Hestia holding a sceptre stood in the Prytaneum.

5. **ὀρθὰν** κ.τ.λ.] *Keep Tenedos from falling.* γεραίροντες refers to the εἰσιτήρια or inaugural sacrifices. There were no priests of Hestia; her worship was maintained by the care of the prytanis and senators.

6. **πολλὰ μὲν** κ.τ.λ.] *often worshipping the first of the gods with libations, often with sacrificial savour.*

Schol. πρώτην δὲ ταύτην εἶπε καθόσον ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἤρχοντο. καὶ Σοφοκλῆς· Ὡ πρῶρα λοιβῆς 'Εστία. This note suggested to Bergk the conjecture πρῶραν θεῶν, which might explain the accent in D, πρῶταν θεῶν.

7. **λύρα δέ σφι** κ.τ.λ.] *The lyre peals for them and the song.* For βρέμεται of the lyre see *Nem.* IX. 8.

καὶ ξενίου Διὸς ἀσκεῖται Θέμις ἀενάοις
ἐν τραπέζαις· ἀλλὰ σὺν δόξᾳ τέλος
δυωδεκάμηνον περᾶσαι σὺν ἀτρώτῳ καρδίᾳ.

10

ἄνδρα δ' ἐγὼ μακαρίζω μὲν πατέρ' Ἀρκεσίλαν,

ἐπ. α'.

8. καὶ ξενίου Διὸς κ.τ.λ.] Schol. καὶ τοῦ ξενίου Διὸς θέμις ἀσκεῖται καὶ ἀποσώζεται παρ' αὐτοῖς διαπαντός ἐν ταῖς τραπέζαις· ἀντὶ τοῦ φιλόξενοί εἰσιν. Dissen quotes Athenaeus IV. p. 143, F ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ξενικοὶ θᾶκοι καὶ τράπεζα τρίτῃ δεξιᾷ εἰσιόντων εἰς τὰ ἀνδρεία ἣν ξενίου τε Διὸς ξενίαν τε προσηγόρευον (cp. C). For the expression ἀσκεῖται θέμις and for the connexion of Themis with Ζεὺς ξένιος, compare *Ol.* VIII. 21

ἐνθα Σώτειρα Διὸς ξενίου
πάρεδρος ἀσκεῖται Θέμις
ἔξοχ' ἀνθρώπων.

Cp. also ἐπασκῆσω, *Nem.* IX. 10.

ἀενάοις] *perpetual*, never running dry. Compare ἀενάον πλούτου, *inexhaustible wealth* (fr. 119), ἀενάον πυρός *unquenchable fire* (*Pyth.* 1. 5), ἀέναον πατρός Ὀλυμπίου τιμάν, *the eternal honour* (*Ol.* XIV. 12). I observe that Mr Fennell takes ἐν here in the sense of *with*, but I agree with Rumpel that it has the more literal meaning of place. The tables are not only the instrument, they are also the place of the ἄσκησις.

9. ἀλλὰ σὺν δόξᾳ κ.τ.λ.] No really valid objection can be brought against the repetition of σὺν. Mommsen has appositely compared such expressions as κατ' αἴσαν οὐδ' ὑπὲρ αἴσαν, οἷος ἀνευθ' ἄλλων, where an idea is expressed both positively and negatively. *May he pass with glory the twelve-month of office, yea with heart unscathed.* δόξα is positive and objective, ἀτρωτος καρδίᾳ is negative and subjective. In my judgment the repetition of σὺν is happy. Editors have proposed many emendations (Kayser τ' ἐν ἀτρώτῳ, Rauchenstein σφιν ἀτρώτῳ).—B B have περάσαι, but Boeckh from

lemma D περᾶσαι read ἀλλὰ νιν δόξα... περᾶσαι, and Dissen ἀλλὰ σὺν δόξα... περᾶσαι νιν. It is worth quoting the scholia in full because they point to both περάσαι and περᾶσαι.

Schol. εὐχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν μετὰ δόξης αὐτὸν διατελέσαι. σὺν ἀτρώτῳ καὶ ἀλύπῳ τῇ καρδίᾳ, τοιτέστιν ἀπταιστώ καὶ ἀβλαβεῖ, τὴν ἐνιαυσίαν ἀρχὴν διανύσειε. δῆλον δέ, καθὼς καὶ προείπομεν, διὰ τούτων, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπίνικος ἢ ῥόδη. § ὁ δὲ νοῦς παράσχου οὖν αὐτοῖς σὺν εὐδοξίᾳ ἐξενιαυτῆσαι τὴν πρυτανεῖαν σὺν ἀλύπῳ καρδίᾳ.

The last note clearly points to περᾶσαι and also to the double σὺν. Now as περάσαι is quite simple, it is difficult to see why περᾶσαι should have been foisted in; whereas, if περᾶσαι were in the ancient MSS., περάσαι was an obvious simplification. I believe therefore that περᾶσαι attested by D and by a scholium is the right reading. The infinitive depends on an imperative like δός, which is not expressed but can be easily understood from the general notion of graciousness implied in δέξαι. The intervening words λύρα...τραπέζαις should be treated as a parenthesis. In point of sense, it will be conceded I think that the optative is weak after the address to Hestia, and that the context really demands that Hestia's protection for the whole year should be expressly invoked.

11. ἄνδρα δ' ἐγὼ κ.τ.λ.] A goddess was the centre of the first two strophes; here in the epode the transition to the mortal is emphasized by the position of ἄνδρα in a loose construction ('oppositio- nis causa praemisum', Dissen). *As for the man—I deem his father Arcesilaus*

καὶ τὸ θαητὸν δέμας ἀτρεμίαν τε ξύγγονον.
 εἰ δέ τις ὄλβον ἔχων μορφᾷ περαμεύσεται ἄλλων,
 ἔν τ' ἀέθλοισιν ἀριστεύων ἐπέδειξεν βίαν·
 θνατὰ μεμνάσθω περιστέλλων μέλη
 καὶ τελευτὰν ἀπάντων γᾶν ἐπιφρασόμενος.

15

ἐν λόγοις δ' ἀστῶν ἀγαθοῖς μὲν ἐπαινέσθαι χρεών, στρ. β'.

blessed, and I praise his (the son's) admirable body and the intrepidity which he inherits. Dissen notes the Zeugma 'quum e μακαρίζω elicendum sit αἰνέω ad secundum membrum'. Mezger takes it otherwise; 'den Mann aber preise ich selig wegen seines Vaters Arkesilaos und seiner stattlichen Gestalt und der ihm angeborenen Unerschrockenheit'. But μακαρίζω takes accusative and genitive, the only example of two accusatives that I can find being that quoted in Liddell and Scott; Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 588

τοῦτ' ἄρ' τοὶ σε μόνον τούτων ὧν εἴρηκας
 μακαρίζω,

where it seems to me that τοῦτ' is on a different footing, being a sort of cognate object (as it were, τοῦτον μακαρισμὸν μόνον μακαρίζω).

Schneider and Bergk unnecessarily read ἀτρεμίαν, which would almost imply that Aristagoras had recovered from an illness or been preserved from some danger. Neither this word nor ἀτρεμίαν elsewhere occurs in Pindar. A scholiast had the silly notion that Ἀτρεμίαν was the name of a sister of Aristagoras.—The choice of ἀτρεμίαν is really a felicity. It suggests the character of Aristagoras' beauty, calm like that of a statue. In Plato's *Phaedrus* (250 E) ἀτρεμής is used of the φάσματα in Mysteries, ὁλόκληρα δὲ καὶ ἀπλὰ καὶ ἀτρεμῇ καὶ εὐδαίμονα φάσματα. ἀτρεμάς in Homer is generally used of *pose*.

13. εἰ δέ τις κ.τ.λ.] The reading of D is μορφᾷ παραμεύσεται ἄλλων, B β have παραμύσεται.—παραμεύομαι, like παραμείβομαι (cf. *Iylh.* II. 50) *praeverto*, must be followed by an accusative; accordingly

Boeckh read μορφάν, Hartung ἄλλους. Bergk on the other hand reads προαμεύσεται which he supports by glosses in Hesychius. The question is: is it likely that προ- would have been changed, by accident or intention, to παρ-? I am disposed to think that Pindar wrote περαμεύσεται, the preposition (Aeolic for περί, see below, I. 40) having the same force as in περιτοξεύω, περιγίνομαι. This was much more exposed to the chances of corruption. Cf. the conjecture of Mr Postgate, ὁ πέραλλον, in *Nem.* III. 33.

15. θνατὰ κ.τ.λ.] *Let him remember that the limbs which he clothes are mortal, and that the last vesture of all will be a shroud of earth.* τελευτὰν ἀπάντων is adverbial, but it means the end of all his dressing will be a dress of clay. See *Introduction*, p. 217.

17. ἐν λόγοις κ.τ.λ.] Schol. ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γνώμῃ ἐπαινέσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς προσήκει, φησὶν. § ἢ οὕτω· τοὺς τοιοῦτους καὶ τοιαῦτα ἡσκηκότας ἀρχοντας δεῖ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ λόγους ἐπαινέσθαι καὶ κοσμεῖσθαι ποιήμασιν.

The MSS. have ἀγαθοῖς μὲν αἰνεῖσθαι. The metre shews that a short syllable has fallen out, and Triclinius emended ἀγαθοῖσι. Mingarelli read ἀγαθοῖσι μιν, Mommsen and Bergk ἀγαθοῖσι νιν. It would be wrong to change the significant μὲν, but I think that instead of adding the ι to ἀγαθοῖς we should read ἐπαινέσθαι (not contradicted by the scholia). The omission of the syllable was due to parablepsia;

ΜΕΝΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΘΑΙ

The scholia rightly separate ἀγαθοῖς from λόγοις: *In speech it is meet that he should*

καὶ μελιγδούποισι δαιδαλθέντα μέλειν ἐν αἰοιδαῖς.
 ἐκ δὲ περικτιόνων ἐκκαίδεκ' Ἀρισταγόραν
 ἀγλααὶ νῆκαι πάτραι τ' εὐώνυμον
 ἔστεφάνωσαν πάλα καὶ μεγαυχεῖ παγκρατίῳ.

20

ἐλπίδες δ' ὀκνηρότεραι γονέων παιδὸς βίαν
 ἔσχον ἐν Πυθῶνι πειρᾶσθαι καὶ Ὀλυμπία ἀέθλων.
 ναὶ μὰ γὰρ ὄρκον, ἐμὲν δόξαν παρὰ Κασταλία

ἀντ. β'.

he praised by good citizens. ἀγαθοῖς μὲν implies a κακοῖς δέ, which Pindar does not express, the μὲν being sufficiently eloquent.

18. δαιδαλθέντα] Compare *Ol.* v. 21 αἰτήσων πόλιν εὐανοράισι τάνδε κλυταῖς δαιδάλλειν, and *Ol.* i. 105 πέποιθα δὲ ξένον κλυταῖσι δαιδαλωσέμεν ὕμνων πτυχαῖς. Translate *tricked out*. With μελιγδουπος (ἀπ. εἰρ.) cf. μελικομπος and μελίρροθος.—The MSS. give μελιζέμεν αἰοιδαῖς, which cannot stand, as αἰδῶ and αἰοῖα do not suffer synizesis in Pindar. Pauw proposed μελίζεν, Mommsen μεμίχθ' ἐν, Christ μέλεσσι κλέεσθαι. After considerable hesitation I have come to the conclusion that Hermann's μέλειν ἐν is the true restoration of the passage. The corruption, I believe, arose thus. In uncial MSS. N, written a little crookedly, tends to assume the appearance of Z, and thus ΜΕΛΕΙΝΕΝ might become ΜΕΛΕΙΖΕΝ, which would be read μελίζεν (as ει and ι were constantly confused in MSS. owing to itacism, this interpretation would be inevitable) and subsequently corrected to μελιζέμεν.—ἐν αἰοιδαῖς contrasts with ἐν λόγοις, and μέλειν means *be a theme*.

19. ἐκ δὲ περικτιόνων κ.τ.λ.] *Neighbouring states crowned Aristagoras and his clan of auspicious name for sixteen splendid victories in wrestling and in the ennobling pancration.* The force of ἐκ is that a stranger carried away prizes or crowns from among the native inhabitants. Compare *Pyth.* iv. 66 κῦδος ἐξ

ἀμφικτιόνων ἔπορεν ἵπποδραμίας. *Isth.* vii. 64 ἐπεὶ περικτίονας ἐνέκασε δὴ ποτε καὶ κείνος ἄνδρας.—πάτραι εὐώνυμον means the Peisandridae, a name of good omen.

21. μεγαυχεῖ] *glorioso*. The MSS. have μεγαλανχεῖ, but Schmid's correction μεγαυχεῖ, which restores the metre, may be regarded as certain. The corruption was quite natural as composites with the longer stem are far more common.

22. ἐλπίδες ὀκνηρότεραι] *The halting hopes of his parents refrained their powerful son from essaying contests at Pytho or at Olympia.* It is hardly necessary to remark that ἔχω πειρᾶσθαι and ἔχω μὴ πειρᾶσθαι are alternative expressions, the latter being the more common. Dissen quotes *σχῆσω σε πηδᾶν*, Euripides, *Orestes* 267.

24. ναὶ μὰ γὰρ ὄρκον] *For as I live; γὰρ* explains ὀκνηρότεραι (*unduly diffident*). See Hesiod *Theog.* 231

ὄρκον θ' ὅς δὴ πλείστον ἐπιχθονίους ἀνθρώπους
 πημάλνει, ὅτε κεν τις ἐκὼν ἐπλορκον
 ὀμόσῃ.

ἐμὲν δόξαν, *in my judgment*, an adverbial accusative (cf. τὸ σὸν μέρος), not to be taken with ναὶ μὰ as Mezger takes it. Dissen is hardly correct in construing παρὰ Κασταλία with μολών; it goes with δριώντων. Had Aristagoras gone and striven at Castalia or the hill of Cronos, he would have returned more honourably than his rivals.—In *Ol.* xiii. 44 Pindar has the form δηρλομαι; the Homeric

καὶ παρ' εὐδένδρῳ μολὼν ὄχθῳ Κρόνου
κάλλιον ἂν δηριώντων ἐνόστησ' ἀντιπάλων,

25

πενταετηρίδ' ἑορτὰν Ἑρακλέος τέθμιον
κωμάσαις ἀνδρῶν τε κόμαν ἐν πορφυρέοις
ἔρνεσιν. ἀλλὰ βροτῶν τὸν μὲν κενεόφρονες αὖχαι
ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἔβαλον· τὸν δ' αὖ καταμεμφθέντ' ἄγαν
ἰσχὺν οἰκείων παρέσφαλεν καλῶν
χειρὸς ἔλκων ὀπίσσω θυμὸς ἄτολμος ἐών.

ἐπ. β'.

30

συμβαλεῖν μὰν εὐμαρὲς ἦν τό τε Πεισάνδρου πάλαι στρ. γ'.

form is δηριόμαι. With ὄχθῳ Κρόνου cf. *Ol.* IX. 3 Κρόνιον παρ' ὄχθον.—Schol. εὐδένδρῳ διὰ τὰ τῶν ἐλαίων φυτά.

27. πενταετηρίδ'] A festival which we should call quadriennial the Greeks called quinquennial. τέθμιον, prescribed according to fixed rules, has much the same force as the Latin *sollemnis*; τεθμός corresponds to *institutum*. The first syllable is short here; in *Isth.* v. 20 it is long, τέθμιόν μοι φαμί σφέστατον εἶναι.

28. ἐν πορφυρέοις ἔρνεσιν] *having bound his hair in glistering branches*. The expression loses its strength if we take ἐν as merely instrumental; the victor's locks are conceived as actually *in* the wreath of olive leaves. The poet permits himself to apply to this wreath the name of a colour, not literally appropriate to it, and intended altogether in a figurative sense. Regal 'purple' might be considered the queen of colours and used as a metaphor for supreme excellence; and in the same way Pindar borrowed the most precious of the metals to describe the badge of Olympian victory. See *Ol.* XI. 13 ἐπὶ στεφάνῳ χρυσέας ἐλαίας, and *Nem.* I. 17. (Cf. also *Pyth.* III. 73 ὑγίειαν χρυσέαν, *golden health*.) For ἔρνεσιν see *Nem.* VI. 18.

30. ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἔβαλον] Cause him to miss his desires (an aorist of generality); the passive ἐκπίπτω in this metaphorical sense is more familiar. (B B have ἔλαβον,

a not unfrequent confusion in MSS.)

τὸν δ' αὖ κ.τ.λ.] *Whereas another, underrating his strength, lets the honours, that were within his reach, slip from his hand, plucked back by an unadventurous heart*.—Mezger takes καταμεμφθέντα in a passive sense (comparing Diogenes Laertius, VI. 47), *blamed in point of strength*.—παρασφάλλω has much the same meaning as ἐκβάλλω, *cause to fail in, deprive of*, but, appropriately to the sense, is gentler. Over-confidence expels; over-diffidence leads astray.

33. συμβαλεῖν κ.τ.λ.] *Surely it was easy to conjecture in him the ancient blood of Pisander from Sparta—for he came with Orestes from Amyclae, conducting hither (to Tenedos) a bronze-mailed host of Aeolians—mingled near the stream of Ismenus with the blood of his mother's ancestor Melanirrus*.

Schol. συμβαλεῖν λίαν εὐμαρὲς ἦν καὶ σημειώσασθαι τὸν ἰδόντα Ἀρισταγόραν ὅτι τὸ πάλαι αὐτοῦ αἷμα καὶ τὸ γένος ἦν ἀπὸ Πεισάνδρου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου· ὡς ἀπὸ τινος Πεισάνδρου τῶν παλαιῶν ὄντος τοῦ Ἀρισταγόρου. οὗτος δέ, φησί, σὺν Ὀρέστῃ ἀπώκησεν ἐκ Σπάρτης καὶ τὴν Τένεδον κατώκησε. Τενέδιος γὰρ ὁ Ἀρισταγόρας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ὀρέστου εἰς τὴν Αἰολίδα ἀποικίας Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Αἰολικῶν ἱστορήκεν. ὁ δὲ Μελάνιππος οὗτος Θηβαῖος ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου συστὰς τῷ Τυδεΐ. κ.τ.λ.

αἶμ' ἀπὸ Σπάρτας—'Αμύκλαθεν γὰρ ἔβα σὺν Ὀρέστα
 Αἰολέων στρατιὰν χαλκευτέα δεῦρ' ἀνάγων— 35
 καὶ παρ' Ἴσμηνοῦ ῥοαὶν κεκραμένον
 ἐκ Μελανίπιοιο μάτρωος. ἀρχαῖαι δ' ἀρεταὶ
 ἀμφέροντ' ἀλλασσόμεναι γενεαῖς ἀνδρῶν σθένος· ἀντ. γ'.
 ἐν σχερῷ δ' οὔτ' ὦν μέλαιναι καρπὸν ἔδωκαν ἄρουραι,
 δένδρεά τ' οὐκ ἐθέλει πάσαις ἐτέων περόδοις 40
 ἄνθος εὐῶδες φέρειν πλούτῳ Φίσον,
 ἀλλ' ἐν ἀμείβοντι. καὶ θνατὸν οὕτως ἔθνος ἄγει
 μοῖρα. τὸ δ' ἐκ Διὸς ἀνθρώποις σαφὲς οὐχ ἔπεται ἐπ. γ'.

This scholium recognizes the reading of the MSS. *λίαν*. The metre requires a long monosyllable here and most editors read *μάν* (due to Pauwius). The similarity of ΛΙ and Μ accounts for the corruption.

36. *ῥοαῖν*] Bergk's correction of *ῥοαν*; compare schol. *παρὰ τὰ Ἴσμηνοῦ ῥεύματα*. The genitive is forcible and idiomatic (corresponding to *ἀπὸ Σπάρτας*), and scribes familiar with *παρὰ ποταμόν*, etc., were tempted to alter the accent.

37. *ἀρχαῖαι κ.τ.λ.*] *This is the way of men's generations; their original excellences change and then win strength anew.* (*γενεαῖς* is dative of those interested.)

Aristagoras, Pindar implies, is the successor of Pisander and Melanippus; the intermediate generations were obscured (*τῶν δὲ μετὰ ξὺν ἡμυνρωμένων*, schol.).

Schol. αἱ ἀρχαῖαι τῶν προγόνων, φησὶν, ἀρεταὶ ὕστερον ἐκλάμπουσιν..... § ἡ οὕτως· αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ ἀρεταὶ ἀποφέρονται σθένος ἐναλλασσόμεναι ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενεαῖς.

39. *ἐν σχερῷ*] *continuously*, opp. to *ἀλλασσόμεναι*.—*μέλαιναι* is chosen with the purpose of pointing the illustration by a play on *Μελάνιππος*.

40. *δένδρεά τ' κ.τ.λ.*] *Neither are trees fain to bear in each revolving year an equal wealth of flowery fragrance, but rather by turns.* *περόδοις*, Aeolic for *περίοδοις*. It is curious that B B omit

πλούτῳ before *ἴσον* (*sic*). Bergk reads *πλουτώσιον*, formed like *χαριτώσιον*, a Rhégine adjective, see Ibycus, *fr.* 51 (*P. L. G.* ed. 4).

42. *καὶ θνατόν κ.τ.λ.*] *On this wise the race of mortals also is driven by the wind of Fate.* The MSS. have *οὕτω σθένος*, which Heyne corrected, with the help of the scholiast's words *τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος*. The scribe had *σθένος* in his mind from l. 38, and when he came to the words

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he unhesitatingly read *οὕτωσθένος*, transposing two letters and violating the metre. A similar instance of contamination from the general context is the familiar *λύουσ' ἂν ἢ 'φάπτουσα* in Sophocles' *Antigone*, l. 40, where a scribe wrote *θάπτουσα*, because his mind was full of the idea of burial, the subject of the context. In the present case, the occurrence of *σθένος* in l. 38 would be a point against it in l. 42, even if the metre were not decisive.

ἄγει means *drive*, like a wind. Interpreters have missed the felicity of this passage through not perceiving the metaphor from sailing.

43. *τὸ δ' ἐκ Διὸς κ.τ.λ.*] *And as for Zeus, no clear sign in heaven accompanieth men on their course; but, albeit, we embark in vessels of proud designs, devising many works. For our limbs have been*

τέκμαρ· ἀλλ' ἔμπαν μεγαλανορίαις ἐμβαίνομεν,
 ἔργα τε πολλὰ μενοινῶντες· δέδεται γὰρ ἀναιδεῖ
 ἐλπιδι γυῖα· προμαθείας δ' ἀπόκεινται ῥοαί.
 κερδέων δὲ χρή μέτρον θηρενέμεν·
 ἀπροσίκτων δ' ἐρώτων ὀξύτεραι μαναίαι.

45

fettered by importunate Hope; and the streams of foreknowledge are situate far away. τὸ δ' ἐκ Διὸς is more emphatic than ἐκ Διός, pointing the antithesis between Ζεὺς and μοῖρα. τέκμαρ suggests a guiding star; cf. τέκμωρ of the moon in *Hom. Hymn.* 32, 13 τέκμωρ δὲ βροτοῖσι τέτυκται. The reading proposed by Christ ἐν βαίνομεν for ἐμβαίνομεν surrenders the metaphor. For ἐμβαίνω in this metaphorical sense Dissen compares Plato, *Phaedrus* 252 E ἐὰν οὖν μὴ πρότερον ἐμβεβῶσι τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι. Mr Fennell happily suggests that δέδεται γυῖα may be "a metaphor from a slave chained to the oar".—ἀναιδεῖ, exceeding due measure, corresponds to a common use of *improbus*, as in Virgil's *labor omnia vincit improbus*.

45. ἔργα τε πολλὰ] B, D ἔργα τε, B ἔργα τε, Bergk ἔργα γε, Mommsen ἔργ' ἄτε, Hartung ἔργα τὰ. Schol. ἀλλὰ μεγαληγοροῦμεν μεγάλα τε μενοινῶντες καὶ φροντίζοντες ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦς.

The reading of the MSS. is clearly correct. It is more difficult than any of the corrections, and that it is more logical than either they or μενοινῶμεν (which might have been easily written) would be, may be shewn by an analysis of the thought. The (1) central notion is, we are at sea; and our position is defined by (2) the nature of our vessels and (3) the object of our voyage. The simplest grammatical connexion of these three moments would be: πλέομεν

ἐμβαλόντες τε μεγαλανορίαις ἔργα τε πολλὰ μενοινῶντες, but Pindar abbreviates it by making the first participle do duty as a verb, ἐμβαίνομεν, we are embarkers in.

μενοινῶντες] *meditantes*.

46. ῥοαί] ῥοά is used metaphorically in *Ol.* II. 33,

ῥοαί δ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλαι

εὐθυμῖαν τε μετὰ καὶ πόνων ἐς ἄνδρας ἔβαν.

Schol. τῆς δὲ προγνώσεως αἱ ὁδοὶ ἀποθεν ἡμῶν κείνται. But ὁδοί (another metaphor) misses the point of ῥοαί. The rivers of foreknowledge do not flow into the sea, on which mortals sail.

47. κερδέων δὲ κ.τ.λ.] *It is good to observe a measure in the chase for gain; sharp are the fits of madness wrought by unattainable longings.* Bergk characterises the last line by the words "singularem audaciam sermonis Pindarici", and adds "nam poeta dicere volebat οὔτινες ἀπροσίκτων ἐρώσιν, τούτων ὅξ. μ., qui cur ἀπροσίκτων δ' ἐρώτων scribere noluerit planum est".

The comparative ὀξύτεραι suggests, more emphatically than ὀξεῖαι, its opposite βραδύτεραι or ἀμβλύτεραι; and here, succeeding ἐλπιδι at such a short distance, it inevitably reminds us of the *lagging hopes*, ἐλπίδες ὀκνηρότεραι, of l. 22 (so Mezger). The use of the comparative to suggest a correlative may be illustrated by *θυλότερος*, *εἶτερος*, *δεξιτερός* etc. See further *Appendix A*, note 10.

APPENDIX A.

NOTE 1. I. 58, παλίγγλωστος.

IN commenting on this word I omitted to refer to an Homeric expression which throws some light on it. In Δ 357 we read

τὸν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
ὥς γυνῶ χωρόμενοιο· πάλιν δ' ὃ γε λάζετο μῦθον.

The most obvious meaning of the last words is 'he withdrew his remarks.' Agamemnon had chided Odysseus, and, when Odysseus replied angrily, he retracted his injurious words. But this meaning will not suit the passage in the *Odyssey* where the same phrase occurs, ν 254. There it is used of Odysseus telling a false tale of his own life to Eumaeus. Commentators give no hint how the two passages are to be reconciled. In order to reconcile them, we must get rid of the idea that λάζετο μῦθον means 'took back his word' in the *Iliad*. Both there and in the *Odyssey* it means 'grasped' or 'laid hold of a word,' in accordance with the regular usage of λάζομαι. In both cases, moreover, πάλιν has the same sense: 'reversely.' The difference lies in the context. In the *Iliad* πάλιν reverses what Agamemnon had said before, the πάλιν μῦθος is a palinode; in the *Odyssey* πάλιν reverses the truth, the πάλιν μῦθος is a falsehood.

This apparent difference in the meaning of πάλιν, owing to a real difference in the things on which its sense operates, illustrates the two uses of παλίγγλωστος in Pindar, as pointed out in the Commentary.

NOTE 2. II. 9, ἄωτος.

There are several passages in Pindar where the point obviously turns on a supposed connexion of ἄωτος with ἄημι, cf. the Homeric ἀωτέω (ἀωτεῖτε γλυκὸν ὕπνον). Indeed it is not impossible that ἄωτος may have actually meant *breath* as well as *gloss*; it is even conceivable that *breath*

was the primary meaning, and that *ἄωτος* is cognate to *ἄωτέω*. In any case the Greeks connected them. In the general *Introduction* (p. xix) I pointed out a passage in the Sixth Isthmian where *ἄωτος* has a suggestion of this kind, and here I may call attention to other instances.

Pyth. x. 51 *sqq.* κώπαν σχάσον, ταχὺ δ' ἄγκυραν ἔρεισον χθονί
 πρῶραθε, χοιράδος ἄλκαρ πέτρας.
 ἐγκωμίων γὰρ ἄωτος ὕμνων
 ἐπ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὥτε μέλισσα θύνει λόγον.

Here *ἄωτος ὕμνων*, joined with *θύνει* and in collocation with a sea-metaphor, could not be justified, if it did not suggest *gale of hymns*, as well as *fairest of hymns*. Again in *Isthm.* i. 51 the strange phrase *πολιατῶν καὶ ξένων γλώσσας ἄωτον* is justified by the suggestion *breath of the tongue*; and unless he intended to convey this suggestion, I cannot think that Pindar would have ventured on the expression *γλώσσας ἄωτον*.

The phrases *ζωᾶς ἄωτος* (*Isth.* iv. 12) and *εὐζύας ἄωτον* (*Pyth.* iv. 131) obviously allude to the *breath* of life, cf. *αἰών*, and perhaps *μουσικῶς ἐν αἰώπῳ* (*Ol.* i. 14) suggests the *breathings* (*πνοαί*) of flutes. Another instance of this secondary significance of *ἄωτος* will be found in *Note 3* of this *Appendix*.

In the present passage the argument seems to turn on a similar allusion. It has been pointed out in the note on l. 8 that *αἰὼν εὐθυπομπός* is metaphorical, a *straight-wafting breeze of time* (or *life*). Now the strong verb *ὀφείλει*, and the strong conjunction *εἴπερ* show that there must be a definite inference, and I have no doubt that the inference is from *αἰών* to *ἄωτος*. The *Timodemidae* had a *fair wind* (*αἰών*); we may infer that *Timodemus* will also have a *fair wind* (*ἄωτος*). This etymological, allusive argument is highly characteristic of Pindar.

A confirmation of this view is furnished by l. 14. *Αἶαντος ἄκουσεν* responds to *κάλλιστον ἄωτον*, and it has been pointed out (see note on 14) that *Αἶας* is conceived as a mighty *wind*, and that this is the justification and motive of *ἄκουσεν*, in which commentators have found so much difficulty. If *ἄωτος* also alludes to *ἄημι*, there is greater significance in the comparison of *Timodemus* to *Ajax*.

NOTE 3.

III. 26 sqq.

θυμέ, τίνα πρὸς ἀλλοδαπὰν
 ἄκραν ἐμὸν πλόον παραμείβει ;
 Αἰακῶ σε φαρὶ γένει τε Μοῖσαν φέρειν.
 29 ἔπεται δὲ λόγῳ δίκας ἄωτος, ἐσλὸς αἰνεῖν·
 οὐδ' ἀλλοτρίων ἔρωτες ἀνδρὶ φέρειν κρέσσονες.
 οἴκοθεν μάτενε.

Verse 29 is one of the most difficult in Pindar. There is a difficulty in the mere translation, and there is a further difficulty in discerning its connexion with the lines which precede and with the lines which follow. That a close connexion must exist in both directions is obvious ; for if we leave the line in question out of the context, the train of thought is consecutive. Pindar supposes that the Muse is in a ship, steered by his soul (*θυμός*). He charges the steersman to come back from the pillars of Heracles, as it is for the sake of Aeacus and his race that the Muse is sailing. Then—if we omit the enigmatical line—he observes that we should not resort to foreign tales, when there are good tales at home ; the cycle of Aeginetan legend is ample enough. Or, in the language of the metaphor, desires of foreign things are not a good freight (*φέρειν*). Thus the connexion of thought between line 28 and line 30 is close. According to all hitherto proposed interpretations (criticised in note on l. 29), the intervening words break this connexion with a frigid commonplace. We may conclude that if the line is sound *δίκας ἄωτος* must bear some further significance than *essence of justice*.

Now we saw in *Note 2* of this *Appendix* that in Pindar's use *ἄωτος* has frequently the secondary meanings of *breath* or *breeze*. The present passage is another instance. *A blast of justice* is just the expression required by the metaphor in the preceding lines. The poet's soul is compared to a craft, bearing the Muse and his tale (*λόγος*) ; its errand is to praise noble men (the Aeacids and Aristoclides) ; and it is escorted by a breeze of justice. Translate : *My tale, on its errand to praise noble men, is escorted by a wind that blows fair*. The justice consists in choosing the Aeacidae for the burden of the hymn, as explained in the following lines—*οἴκοθεν μάτενε*. In *αἰνεῖν* the original dative sense of the infinitive comes out ; cf. Homer, *v* 33

ἀσπασίως δ' ἄρα τῷ κατέδν φάος ἡελίοιο
 δόρπον ἐποίχεται.

But it will be asked, Why should praise of the Aeacidæ be called the *perfection* of justice?—for ‘breeze’ is only the less usual sense of ἄωτος. It may be explained as a conclusion from Αἰακός to ἄωτος (cf. the inference from αἰών to ἄωτος in II. 8, 9).

This interpretation secures to the context a connected meaning. But it is strikingly confirmed by a subsequent passage in the Ode. The sailing of Achilles to Troy is introduced thus (l. 57 sq.)—

γόνον τέ Foi φέρτατον
ἀτίταλλεν ἐν ἁρμένιοισι πάντα θυμὸν αὔξων·
ὄφρα θαλασσίαις ἀνέμων ῥιπαῖσι πεμφθείς κ.τ.λ.

These words are remarkable. In the metaphor of the ship, which we have been considering, the idea of burden or freight was emphasized by φέρειν (l. 28), φέρειν (l. 30), ποτίφορον (l. 31) occurring in rapid succession. It is more than a coincidence that φέρτατον occupies the same position in the 7th line of antistrophos γ' as φέρειν in the 7th line of strophe β'. The recurrence of θυμός in the same connexion shows this. The *soul* of Achilles, figuratively, is a ship bearing him to Troy, just as the soul (θυμέ l. 26) of the poet is a vessel of imagination, which *bears* the Muse. And the unique phrase ἐν ἁρμένιοισι points this allusion to the ship. ἄρμενα was a *vox propria* for the *rigging* or *gear* of a ship, and could not fail to suggest a naval metaphor. I suspect that there is a similar double meaning in Theognis, l. 695 :

οὐ δύναμαι σοι, θυμέ, παρασχεῖν ἄρμενα πάντα·
τέτλαθι· τῶν δὲ καλῶν οὔτι σὺ μῶνος ἑρᾶς,

where the juxtaposition of καλῶν and ἄρμενα suggests ropes (κάλοι) and tackle.

Now just as the craft of the poet is wafted by a *breeze of justice* on its way, so the craft of Achilles is wafted by sea blasts, θαλασσίαις ἀνέμων ῥιπαῖσι. And the destinations of both voyages are similar,—to kindle lights of glory.

At Troy Achilles slays Memnon and

τηλανγὲς ἄραρε φέγγος Αἰακιδᾶν αὐτόθεν,

‘thereby a star of the Aeacidæ shineth afar in the firmament.’ ἄραρε shows that the φέγγος is a star. Cf. Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 453 οὐρανῷ εὖ ἐνάμηρεν ἀγάλματα νυκτὸς ἰούσης, 482 ἀρηρότος Ἠνιόχοιο, etc. And Aristoclidēs, who is compared to Achilles, has his constellation too.

l. 83 τίς γε μὲν, εὐθρόνου Κλεοῦς ἐθελόισας, ἀεθλοφόρου λήματος
ἐνεκεν

Νεμέας Ἐπιδανρόθεν τ' ἄπο καὶ Μεγάρων δέδορκεν φάος.

There is a suggestion in these words of a star shining on a ship whose burden is the prize of victory. For ἀεθλοφόρον λήματος is a phrase intended to recall ποτίφορον κόσμον ἔλαβες (l. 31). The play on λῆμα and λῆμμα would hardly be evident, if it were not more distinctly suggested in the immediate vicinity of λήματος; but Pindar has provided for this. Two lines before ἔλαβεν αἶψα (81) is used of the eagle, to whom Achilles, Aristocles and the poet himself are all likened.

And thus Pindar has indirectly insinuated that his own hymn of victory has lit the light of fame for Aristocles.

But the eagle too has some bearing on the words (δίκας ἄωτος) which this note is intended to explain. ἔλαβεν and μεταμαιόμενος in l. 81 recalling ἔλαβες and μάτευε in l. 31 make us bring the two passages into connexion; and we are reminded that αἰετός is the omen of the house of Αἰακός. These three words, Αἰακός, ἄωτος and αἰετός are associated together (just like αἰών, ἄωτος and Αἴας in *Nem.* II.), the link of meaning being *wind* or *breath*; and this note of *wind* is struck in ἕσον ἀνέμοις (l. 45) of the flight of an Aeacid's javelin. The quality of the eagle which is emphasized is its swiftness,—that in which it resembles wind.

NOTE 4.

III. 62, ἐν φρασὶ πάξαιθ' ὅπως.

This expression excites suspicion, because no parallel can be adduced. But there are other reasons too for regarding the passage as possibly corrupt. (1) ἐπιμύξαις Αἰθιόπεςσι χεῖρας is a solecism. ἐπιμυγνῖναι is used in this sense but not ἐπιμυγνῖναι χεῖρας, to which our familiarity with the Latin phrase *conserere manus* unconsciously reconciles us. (2) The whole sentence may appear rather forced. We are told that Chiron educated Achilles, to the intent that (ὄφρα) he should withstand the enemy at Troy and having engaged with the Ethiopians should fix in his mind the resolve to prevent the return of Memnon. It is certainly a strange way of putting the matter. We should rather expect the clause of purpose to cease at Δαρδάνων τε, and a new indicative clause, stating what Achilles did or resolved, to begin at καὶ ἐγχεσφόροις ἐπιμύξαις. (3) A stronger objection to the whole sentence may be based on the circumstance that in the extant works of Pindar there is no other case of ὅπως or ὅπως μὴ in a final clause. This conjunction occurs only in two other places:

Ol. x. 57 κατέφρασεν—πενταετηρίδ' ὅπως ἄρα ἔστασεν ἑορτάν.

Frag. 61 οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως τὰ θεῶν βουλευμάτων ἐρευνάσει βροτέα φρενί.

In reply to these objections it may be said that none of them is conclusive; and it may be urged in support of the text that the strange form of expression is designedly chosen to emphasize the attribution of the Fourth Virtue (*φρονεῖν τὸ παρκείμενον* l. 75) to Achilles. This has been noted in the *Introduction* to the Ode.

NOTE 5.

- IV. 93 οἶον αἰνέων κε Μελησίαν ἔριδα στρέφοι,
 ῥήματα πλέκων, ἀπάλαιστος ἐν λόγῳ ἔλκειν,
 μαλακὰ μὲν φρονέων ἐσλοῖς,
 τραχὺς δὲ παλιγκότοις ἔφεδρος.

The current explanations of this difficult passage cannot be regarded as satisfactory. It is generally supposed to mean nothing more than a compliment to Melesias, couched in terms borrowed from the wrestling school. If this was Pindar's sole intention, he cannot be congratulated on his language. 'How one would wrestle in a word-contest, if one were praising Melesias!'—this, if it has any meaning, implies that Melesias cannot be fitly praised, except in verses of a pugnacious or controversial character. But why not? Melesias doubtless had enemies; but it would surely be feasible to extol Melesias to the skies without engaging in an encounter with his rivals. Nor is anything gained by taking Euphanes as the subject of the sentence. The conceit that if Euphanes were alive again his occupation would consist in fighting the battles of the trainer Melesias against critics is frigid enough. But if Pindar had meant this, he would have used very different language; he would not have used the present tenses *αἰνέων κε στρέφοι* without some introductory phrase to indicate that the dead singer was supposed to be alive. For example, in the first part of this ode the idea of Timocritus surviving to celebrate his son's victory is expressed in the clearest language (*εἰ δ' ἔτι ἐθάλπετο...θάμα κε κελάδησε*). A reference to Euphanes here seems to me to be both irrelevant and not countenanced by the Greek. The subject of *αἰνέων* and *στρέφοι* is obviously *τις*, understood from the preceding sentence.

There is another consideration which seems fatal to the received view. The language in these last four lines is strikingly forcible; but if the received view were correct it would be at the same time inexpressibly weak. For nothing could be weaker than to use this strong language of a hypothetical case. It is almost as if, after composing eleven and a half strophes in honour of Timasarchus, the poet added,

‘But if I were charged to praise Melesias, then would I put forth my strength as a wrestler in verse.’

Now Pindar leaves us in no doubt that so far from meaning this he regards the present hymn as a specimen of his skill in the art of poetic wrestling. For each of these carefully chosen phrases is intended to recall some phrase which occurred before. (1) *ρήματα πλέκων* answers to *ῥήμα* in l. 6, according to the canon of Mezger; and this means that ‘the word’ which is to glorify Timasarchus is an instance of the wrestler’s ‘word-twisting.’ (2) There can be no question that *ἐν λόγῳ* refers to the mythical tale, which was the special feature of Pindaric art. This, as we saw, was the meaning of *λόγον* in l. 31 and *λόγον* in l. 71. But a danger threatens the teller of such tales. He is tempted to exceed limits and give the myth an undue proportion. Into this fault Pindar himself is said to have fallen in his youth, and to have been warned against it by the counsels of Corinna. We saw that he referred to the subject in l. 33 *σῆψ*. Professing to be unable to relate the story of the Aeacids at length, he feels nevertheless that a charm *δραῖσις* him to touch on it. The attractive power of the myth, to which the poet must only yield in measure, is expressed by the word *ἔλκω* (*ἔλκομαι* l. 35). This explains the second edge of *ἀπάλαιστος ἐν λόγῳ ἔλκειν*. In relating a myth Pindar grips his subject, so to speak, and does not let it grip him. The point turns on the double meaning of *ἔλκειν*, as a term in wrestling and as a term in magic. (3) *μαλακά* (*φρονέων ἐσλοῖς*) is an echo of *μαλθακά* in l. 4. And this clearly suggests that the hymn which is to soothe Timasarchus after his labours is an instance of *τὸ μαλακά φρονεῖν ἐσλοῖς*. (4) We shall hardly be wrong in supposing that *ἔφεδρος*, like *ἔλκειν*, has a double signification. For otherwise *ἔφεδρος* would have no point, and the simple *παλαιστής* would be a more suitable word. It is not fitter to compare a poet to a man who draws a ‘by,’ than to compare him to one of the paired wrestlers. But there is fitness in using the technical word if it has a second implication which is appropriate to the poet and not to the wrestler; and I think it may be shown that *ἔφεδρος* is used here for the sake of such an implication. Pindar presented to us a picture of his Lyre *τεταίνε* a song in honour of Aegina (l. 45), and I pointed out in the *Introduction* to the Ode that this picture is, so to speak, set by the side of another, in which the gods *τετατε* gifts of might for Peleus and his descendants. The prominent feature in the second picture is the *εὐκκλος ἔδρα* on which the lords of heaven sat (*ἐφεζόμενοι*). And from this we may supply a defect in the first (a slighter sketch), and imagine the Phorminx and the poet himself sitting on a *ἔδρα*, as the song is woven. Now *ἔφεδρος* may mean ‘seated

on' as well as 'lier-in-wait,' and this secondary meaning justifies and explains its use in the passage under consideration. It is clearly an echo of ἔδραν (τᾶς) ἐφεξόμενοι, and suggests the poet seated at the work of composing his song. This conclusion is strikingly confirmed by yet another correspondence of words. (5) The song woven by Phorminx is described thus :

Λυδία σὺν ἀρμονία μέλος πεφιλημένον

in the 5th verse of the 6th strophe. It is no accident that Μελησίαν echoes μέλος in the 5th verse of the last strophe. This μέλος is the work of the poetical 'wrestler,' who is none other than Pindar himself.

We shall now find it less difficult to answer the question : What is the meaning of αἰνέων κε Μελησίαν στρέφοι? We have only to remember that αἰνέω does not always imply the praise conveyed by panegyric ; it may also express 'the sincerest' form of praise—imitation. This is the force of the word in *Isthmian* vi. 32 μαχατὺν αἰνέων Μελέαγρον, αἰνέων δὲ καὶ Ἑκτορα, where it differs little from ζηλῶν. And this signification admirably suits the present passage. Pindar represents himself as imitating in his own art Melesias the master of another science. Pindar is the wrestling poet ; Melesias is the wrestler with a poetic name. 'What a master in words would he be who should excel in poetry as Melesias excels in wrestling!'—this is, in effect, what Pindar says ; but he uses words which show that he meant to compare himself to Melesias, and to designate this hymn as a specimen of poetic wrestling, not without a glance at his rivals.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the explanation of οἶον in the sense 'for instance.' There is no idea in the last four lines, however interpreted, which can be regarded as an 'instance' of the preceding idea.

NOTE 6. LAMPON (*Nemean* v.).

In Herodotus (Book ix. c. 78) we read of a certain Aeginetan, Lampon the son of Pytheas, who proposed to Pausanias that Mardonius should be impaled. It is clear that this Lampon (whom Herodotus calls Αἰγυνητέων τὰ πρῶτα) was a member of the same family as the Lampon of whom we read in Pindar. For the father of Herodotus' Lampon had the same name as one of the sons of Pindar's Lampon—Pytheas ; and this can hardly be considered accidental. But Müller went much too far when he proposed to identify the two Lampons. The father of Pytheas and Phylacidas was the son of Cleonicus (*Isth.* iv.

55, v. 16), and it is quite gratuitous to suppose either that Cleonicus and Pytheas were the same person or that Cleonicus was Lampon's true father and Pytheas his father by adoption. The only conclusion that we are entitled to draw is that the two Lampons belonged to the same *πάτρα*, namely that of the Psalychiadae, as we learn from *Isth.* v. 63. At the utmost we might venture to suppose with Mr Fennell that the Lampons were first cousins, called after their common grandfather. See Mr Fennell's judicious remarks in his *Introduction to Nemea* v.

NOTE 7. VI. 64 *sqq.*

The Introduction and Commentary on the Sixth Nemean had been finally printed, when I discovered, as I believe, the solution of a problem, which had hitherto baffled me, in connexion with that Ode. This solution, which I offer here, throws light simultaneously on some minor difficulties, and I must request the reader to supplement the explanations given in the Commentary by this additional note.

The chief difficulty is the abruptness of the last three lines of the Ode, which seem to have no connexion with the remainder of the composition. Melesias was the trainer of Pytheas, and of course it was strictly appropriate to pay the trainer a compliment. But the introduction of this compliment as an appendix, in three lines whose absence would not detract from the artistic effect of the hymn, cannot be regarded as happy, and is certainly not in the manner of Pindar. In the Fourth Nemean Melesias was likewise referred to in the concluding verses, but we saw how this reference was carefully woven into the fibre of the whole work (above *Note* 5).

Our doubts increase when we consider the form which the compliment to Melesias assumes. The trainer in wrestling is compared to a dolphin for *swiftness*. This simile may indeed be illustrated by the word *δελφινίζω* which Lucian uses to express *ducking* in wrestling. But still, if Pindar merely wanted a poetical image to express the qualities of a consummate wrestler, his choice of a dolphin cannot be regarded as specially appropriate. Perhaps we may conclude that the dolphin was intended to suggest something more than the swift movements of a wrestler's limbs.

Now the two things for which the dolphin was chiefly noted were its swiftness¹ and its love for music, exemplified in the story of Arion. The

¹ Compare also *Pyth.* II. 51 *θεὸς θαλάσσιον παραμείβεται δελφίνα*, and *Frag.* 234 *παρὰ ναῦν δ' ἰθύει τάχιστα δελφίς*.

second quality is thus mentioned in a remarkable *fragment* of Pindar (235):

ἀλίου δ' ἐρεθίζομαι δελφίνος ὑπόκρισιν·
τὸν μὲν ἀκύμονος ἐν πόντου πελάγει
αὐλῶν ἐκίνησ' ἐρατὸν μέλος.

It may be shown, I think, that the characteristic of the mythical dolphin determined Pindar to employ the image now under consideration. He regards *the wrestler as playing the dolphin to his own Arion*; and the name *Melesias* (μέλος) lent itself to the suggestion. The poet comes

καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων μελέταν (l. 54),

—a strange phrase which arrests the attention,—and the μελέτα is for the benefit of wrestlers typified by Μελησιίας. For if Melesias is a dolphin, it follows that the wrestlers whom he trains to excellence, are as dolphins too.

In support of this explanation there are several points to be urged (besides the fact that it solves the difficulty).

(1) It has been pointed out that in the Fourth Nemean there is a similar play on the name of the Aeginetan trainer (Μελησιάν in l. 93 responding to μέλος in l. 44).

(2) If μελέταν (l. 54) is intended to prepare for the allusion in Μελησιίας, the introduction of the metaphor from the ship in ll. 55, 56 is explained. For this metaphor requires some explanation. It interrupts the metaphor of the ὁδὸς ἀμαξιτός, and it was difficult to see for what purpose it was introduced. But if we recognise that it anticipates the simile of the δελφῖνι δι' ἄλμας, the whole passage begins to become intelligible. Pindar stands in the ship (like Arion) with his μελέτα, and the dolphins are in the circumfluent waves, which beat against the vessel (l. 56).

(3) The expression *sacred games* occurs more than once in Pindar. As it was an ordinary term, which required no apology or explanation, one is rather surprised at the strange form of expression in l. 59

ἀγώνων, τοὺς ἐνέποισιν ἱεροῦς.

Why 'games which men describe as sacred'? Why not ἀγώνων ἱερῶν? Unless Pindar intended to draw special attention to the epithet *sacred*, the words τοὺς ἐνέποισιν are an objectionable superfluity. There must have been some purpose in introducing ἱεροῦς with such emphatic formality. I believe that this purpose is closely connected with the simile of the dolphin. It is worthy of observation that an extant

fragment of a lost Isthmian Ode (*Frags.* 1) compares the Aeginetans to dolphins and connects this comparison closely with *song* and *games*.

οἶοι δ' ἀρετὰν
 δελφῖνες ἐν πόντῳ ταμίαι τε σοφοὶ
 Μοισᾶν ἀγωνίων τ' ἀέθλων.

These words are an excellent commentary on the passage before us. In both places, Aeginetans are compared to dolphins; in both places (according to my interpretation) the dolphins are associated with ἀγῶνες and with song. Now the dolphin was sacred to Dionysus, and in this circumstance may be found the explanation of that puzzling Homeric expression ἱερὸς ἰχθύς, which should be taken as meaning the dolphin and not a fish in general. This consideration seems to explain the purpose of Pindar's carefully chosen words. As the ἄλμα is the leaping ground (Pindar probably connected it with ἄλλομαι rather than with ἄλς) of the *sacred fish*, so the *sacred games* are the element of the human dolphins. And the association between the dolphin and the *sacred games* is rendered unmistakable by a verbal echo, if my restoration of l. 65 be correct; σποῖμι echoes ἐνέποισιν. 'Men *call* those games *sacred*; and so it is not unfitting that I should *call* Melesias a dolphin (the *sacred fish*).'

But we may go yet further. The simile is woven still more deeply into the texture of the hymn. In l. 28 we read of the οὔρος ἐπέων, and in l. 29 how songs and tales 'waft home' (ἐκόμισαν) the fair exploits of the Bassidae, and in l. 31 of the ships which they have chartered. Now the word ἐκόμισαν does not receive its due until we recognise that it means *gathering home to the storehouse of the Bassids*,—their storehouse of victories. This is suggested by the notable expression in the preceding lines

ἕτερον οὐ τινα Φοῖκον ἀπεφάνατο πυγμαχία πλεόνων
 ταμίαν στεφάνων.

Here is a remarkable coincidence, if it be nothing more. The Bassid house is called a ταμίας στεφάνων, in the immediate context of a metaphor from the sea; and the Bassid wrestlers are afterwards (through Melesias) likened to dolphins. In the *Fragment* of an Isthmian Ode, cited above, the Aeginetans are called ταμίαι ἀγωνίων ἀέθλων, and compared to dolphins in the same breath. Are we entitled to infer that there is some link of connexion between the simile of the *dolphin* and 'the house *dispenser* of crowns'? If any such connexion exists, it must lie in some technical use of ταμίας in dithyrambic worship or the mysteries of Dionysus. It is at least worth recalling that the god

with whom dolphins were specially associated is described in the well-known choral song in the *Antigone* by the mysterious title τὸν ταμίαν Ἰακχον (l. 1154).

There are, I believe, similar allusions to the worship of Dionysus in *Isthmian* v., and they may be briefly indicated here. That Ode opens with a simile from the wine-bowl :

θάλλοντος ἀνδρῶν ὥς ὅτε συμποσίου
δεύτερον κρατῆρα Μοισαίων μελέων
κίρναμεν κ.τ.λ.

In l. 9 we read σπένδειν μελιθόγγοις αἰοδαῖς, in l. 40 οἰνοδόκον φιάλαν, in l. 64 ἄρδοντι καλλίστα δρόσῳ. In l. 73 the strange simile of the *Naxian whetstone* was chosen, I believe, with the special purpose of alluding to the Naxian god. But the phrase which concerns us at present is that which occurs in l. 57 :

Φυλακίδα γὰρ ἦλθον, ᾧ Μοῖσα, ταμίας
Πυθέα τε κώμων.

The felicity of this phrase lies, I would suggest, in its harmony with the Dionysiac undercurrent which runs through the Ode.

NOTE 8. IX. 17, 18.

Since the note on l. 17 was printed, the difficulty in the text has been discussed by Mr W. R. Hardie, of Balliol College, in the *Classical Review* (June 1890, p. 269)¹. He holds with Kayser that ἔσσαν μέγιστοι is right, and that the lacuna is in l. 18. In the MSS. a new line begins with ἐπταπύλους, and Kayser reads

καί ποτ' ἐς
ἐπταπύλους ἔθελον κ.τ.λ.

Mr Hardie compromises. He leaves καί ποτε in l. 17, but carries on ἐς to l. 18, and proposes two alternative readings :

καί ποτε
λεκτὸν ἐς ἐπταπύλους Θήβας,

or

καί ποτε
Θήβας ἐς ἐπταπύλους λεκτῶν

(-ās as in Hesiod). The introduction of λεκτόν (λεκτῶν) was suggested

¹ It is satisfactory to me to observe coincides with mine. that Mr Hardie's view (*ib.*) of x. 61

by E. Schmid's ἑπταπύλους κριτὸν ἐς Θήβας and Beck's ἑπταπύλους Θήβας λεκτῶν.

The first conjecture of Mr Hardie may be right, though there is nothing to confirm it, and the cause of the omission of λεκτὸν is not apparent¹. But I find it difficult to believe that ἔσσαν (MSS. ἦσαν) μέγιστοι is genuine.

NOTE 9.

X. 2

φλέγεται δ' ἀρεταῖς
μυρίαῖς ἔργων θρασέων ἔνεκεν.

Besides the meaning which it usually bears, ἀρετή is occasionally, though rarely, found in the sense μνήμη περὶ ἀρετῆς. A passage in Plato's *Symposium* excellently illustrates this usage.

208 D: ἐπεὶ οἶει σὺν, ἔφη, "Αλκηστιν ὑπὲρ Ἀδμήτου ἀποθανεῖν ἂν, ἢ Ἀχιλλέα Πατρόκλῳ ἐναποθανεῖν ἢ προαποθανεῖν τὸν ὑμέτερον Κόδρον ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν παίδων, μὴ οἰομένους ἀθάνατον μνήμην ἀρετῆς πέρι ἐαυτῶν ἔσεσθαι ἢν νῦν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν; πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ἔφη, ἄλλ' οἶμαι ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ τοιαύτης δόξης εὐκλεοῦς πάντες πάντα ποιοῦσιν κ.τ.λ.

Here ἀρετῆς bears in the answer the same meaning that μνήμην ἀρετῆς πέρι bears in the question. But it is well worthy of note that both here and in the other passage where this meaning is most clearly marked, *Philoctetes* 1420, ἀρετή is accompanied by the same epithet. Heracles says ἀθάνατον ἀρετὴν ἔσχον, ὡς πάρεσθ' ὀράν,—*I won immortal quality*. These two passages suggest that this expression ἀρετὴ ἀθάνατος is the link connecting the usual sense of ἀρετή with that which belongs to it in the line of Pindar quoted above. In ἀρετὴ ἀθάνατος the word may be said to preserve still its proper force (*excellent quality*), but it is on the road to a new meaning. ἀρετά, *memorial of excellence* in Pindar, is, I am inclined to believe, the ἀρετὴ ἀθάνατος clipped. Thus ἀρεταῖς μυρίαῖς are countless monuments, which immortalise the glories of Argos.

There is another passage in Pindar which supports this explanation. In *Isth.* iv. 17 we read

τὴν δ' ἐν Ἴσθμῳ διπλόα θάλλουσ' ἀρετά,
Φυλακίδα, κεῖται Νεμέα δὲ καὶ πρέπει
Πυθία τε παγκρατίου.

Here θάλλουσ' ἀρετά seems to be a resetting of the phrase ἀθάνατος

¹ If I were convinced that l. 17 ended prefer πράσσετε το πράσσειται in l. 3.
with καὶ ποτε I should be inclined to

ἀρετά. We may remember how θαλερός is used of the eternal youth and beauty of the gods, and we may compare such passages as *Isth.* III. 6 πλαγαίαις δὲ φρένεσσιν οὐχ ὁμῶς πάντα χρόνον θάλλων ἐμλεῖ, and 22 (IV. 4) ἀρετὰς—αἴσι Κλεωνιμίδαι θάλλοντες αἰεῖ. We find θάλλειν in conjunction with ἀρετά also in *Ol.* IX. 16, θάλλει δ' ἀρεταῖσιν (ἡ Ὀποῦς).

In any case, however ἀρετή acquired its secondary meaning, it is clear that it might be applied as fitly to a monument in stone or bronze, as to a record in writing or to fame in the mouths of men.

NOTE 10.

XI. 48, ὀξύτεροι.

Mr Postgate has kindly allowed me to print the following note, which however does not coincide with my own view.

‘ὀξύτεροι means “passing fierce.” The comparative here approximates to a superlative. To understand this, it must be remembered that the comparative simply asserts that something possesses a quality in a greater degree than other things. So the extent to which this quality is possessed will manifestly depend on the number of these other things. ὀξύτερος πάντων, πολλῶν, ἐνίων denote very different degrees of “keenness.” Hence the comparative, besides its proper use for the comparison of two things, has two absolute uses, one (a) “intensifying,” and the other (b) “qualifying.” The context, of course, must decide which is to be taken. (a) is the use here: so also in the well-known meaning of νεώτερος “out of the common,” whence νεωτερίζειν, although this may be a euphemistic use. It is clear where a negative is added: οὐ χεῖρον “not *very* bad” &c.; though, had the negative been actually compounded with the adjective, the meaning of the comparative would have been “somewhat.” Compare Plato *Theæt.* 177 οὐκ ἀηδεστέρα λέγειν (nearly = ἡδυτέρα). A good example of (b) is Herod. II. 18, τὴν δὲ Λιβύην ἴδμεν ἐρυθροτέρην τε γῆν καὶ ὑποψαμμοτέρην τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀργιλωδεστέραν τε καὶ ὑπόπετρον ἐοῦσαν, “reddish, ...inclining to sand” &c. as is shown by ὑπόπετρος.’

APPENDIX B.

THE GRACES IN PINDAR.

THE poems of Pindar 'burn bright,' to use an expression of his own, with the presence of the Graces. *Χάρις* may sometimes be translated *the spirit of art*, but the sphere of the Charites was wider and cannot be better defined than Pindar has defined it himself:

σὺν ὕμνῳ
τὰ τερπνὰ τε καὶ γλυκέα
ἀνατέλλεται πάντα βροτοῖς,
κεῖ σοφός, εἰ καλός, εἴ τις ἀγλαὸς ἀνὴρ.

It was natural that they should be the sovran ladies in a world of art, which was conversant mainly with 'the delightful things in Hellas'; and I propose to show here that in all his epinician hymns, except three (possibly only one) of very small compass, Pindar either mentions the Graces or alludes to their influence.

Nemean Odes.

I. *χάριν* l. 6 (see note); *ἀγλαΐαν* l. 13; *θάλος* l. 2; *θαλερός* l. 71. Thus the presence of the Charites and especially of Aglaia and Thalia is suggested¹.

II. In this short Ode there is no mention of the Graces nor even an allusion to them. (But see below p. 244.)

III. *χαρίεντα* l. 12; *χαῖρε* l. 76; *ἀγλααῖσι* l. 69; *ἀγλαόκρανον* l. 56; *ἄγαλμα* l. 13.

¹ It is worth observing that the association of the words *χαρίεις* and *ἀγλαός* is as old as Homer: cf. κ 223

λεπτὰ τε καὶ χαρίεντα καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργα.
In Homer *χαρίεντα ἔργα* means *works of art*, cf. ζ 234.

IV. The Χάριτες are mentioned in l. 7; and the note of the hymn is εὐφροσύνη l. 1; but the other sisters are also alluded to in ἀγλαόν l. 20, and θάλησε l. 88.

V. This Ode concludes with the words σὺν ξανθαῖς Χάρισσιν. Aglaia is suggested by ἀγάλματα l. 1, and ἀγάλλει l. 43; Euphrosyne by εὐφρονες l. 38. Cf. χαίρω l. 46.

VI. The Χάριτες appear in l. 37 (Χαρίτων ὁμάδῳ φλέγεν).

VII. χάριν l. 75; χάρμα l. 84; ἀγλαόγνιον l. 4; εὐφρων l. 67. Charis, Aglaia, and Euphrosyne are thus suggested.

VIII. In this hymn we have only ἄγαλμα (l. 16) to suggest Aglaia. But the very name of the clan to which the victor belonged, Χᾱριάδαι, might be considered a gracious one; and Ὠρα πότνια, who is invoked in the opening lines, was a being of kindred to the Graces. Cf. also χαίρω l. 48.

IX. The Χάριτες are confederate with the poet (l. 54) and Aglaia is honoured by ἀγλαΐαισιν in l. 31.

X. In this hymn the Graces are prepotent. In l. 1 they are invoked, Χάριτες, and in l. 38 their name recurs Χαρίτεσσι. χάριν l. 30. Aglaia is suggested by ἀγλαοθρόνων l. 1; Thalia by θάλησεν, l. 42 and θάλειαν l. 53.

XI. This work is not an epinician, but Aglaia is not forgotten in it; cf. ἀγλαῶ l. 4, ἀγλααί l. 20.

Isthmian Odes.

I. χαρίτων l. 6; χαίρετε l. 32.

II. χαρίτεσσι ἀραρώς l. 19. ἀγλαΐαν, l. 18.

III. ἀγαναῖς χαρίτεσσι l. 8. θάλλων l. 6. εὐφροσύνην l. 10.

III^a. ἐπιστάζων χάριν l. 90 (72); χαῖρον l. 47 (29). θάλλοιτες l. 22 (4).

IV. σὺν Χάρισιν l. 21; χάρμα l. 54. θάλλοισα l. 17.

V. Χαρίτων l. 63; ἀδεῖα χάρις l. 50; χαρεῖς l. 10. θάλλοντος l. 1.

VI. χάρις l. 17. θάλος l. 24. εὐφρανάς l. 3.

VII. Χαρίτων ἄωτον l. 16. ἀγλαόν l. 3. ἀγλαός l. 27.

Olympian Odes.

I. Χάρις l. 31. ἀγλαΐζεται l. 14; ἀγλαοτρίαιναν l. 41; ἀγλααῖσι l. 94; ἀγάλλων l. 89. εὐφροσύνας l. 60.

II. κοιναὶ Χάριτες l. 55; χάριν l. 11; χάρις l. 19; χαρμάτων l. 21; ἔχαιρον l. 72. ἀγλαῶν l. 80. θάλος l. 49. εὐφρων l. 16; εὐφρονα l. 40. παραλύει δυσφρονᾶν l. 57.

III. χάρματα l. 109. ἀγλαόκωμον l. 5. ἔθαλλεν l. 23.

IV. Χαρίτων l. 10; χαίροντα l. 13. εὐφρων l. 11.

V. No mention or allusion.

VI. Χάρις l. 76. θάλος l. 68. φιλοφροσύναις εὐηράτοις (l. 98) suggests Euphrosyne.

VII. Χάρις ζωθάλμιος l. 11; χαρίτεσσιν l. 93; χάριν l. 5; χάρματα l. 44. θαλίας l. 94. εὐφρονα l. 63.

VIII. χάριν l. 80; χάριν l. 8. ἀγλαόν l. 11.

IX. Χαρίτων l. 27. ἀγλαΐαισιν l. 98; ἀγλαόδεονδρον l. 20. θάλλει l. 16. εὐφράνθη l. 62.

X. χάριν l. 12; χάριν l. 17; χάριν l. 94; χάρμα l. 22. θαλίας l. 76.

XI. No mention or allusion.

XII. No mention or allusion.

XIII. χάριτες l. 19. ἀγλαΐαν l. 14; ἀγλαόκουρον l. 4; ἀγλαοθρόνοις l. 96.

XIV. This hymn is addressed to the Graces. Χάριτες l. 4; Χαρίτων l. 8. Their names are mentioned l. 13:

ὦ πότνι' Ἀγλαΐα φιλησίμολπέ τ' Εὐφροσύνα
Θαλία τε
ἐρασίμολπε.

Also ἀγλαός l. 7.

Pythian Odes.

I. χάρις l. 33; χάριν l. 76; χάρμα l. 59. ἀγλαΐας l. 2. θαλίας l. 38.

II. Χαρίτων l. 42; χάρις l. 17; χάριν l. 70; χαῖρε l. 67.

III. διδύμας χάριτας l. 72; χάριν l. 95. εὐφροσύνας l. 98.

IV. χάριτες l. 275; χαίρειν l. 61. ἀγλαοί l. 82. θάλλει l. 65. εὐφροσύναν l. 129; εὐφρονα l. 196.

V. ἡύκομοι Χάριτες l. 45; χάριν l. 102; μέλος χαρίεν l. 107. ἀγλαῶν l. 52.

VI. Χαρίτων l. 2. ἀγλαΐαν l. 46.

VII. χαίρω τι l. 16. θάλλοισαν l. 21.

VIII. Χαρίτων l. 21; χάριν l. 86; χαρμάτων l. 64; χαίρων δὲ καὶ αὐτός l. 56. φιλόφρον Ἀσυχία l. 1.

IX. Χαρίτεσσι l. 3; Χαρίτων l. 89; χάρμα l. 64. θάλλοισαν l. 8; εὐθαλεῖ l. 72. εὐφρων l. 73; εὐφρανθεῖσα l. 16.

X. χάριν l. 64; χαίρει l. 36. ἀγλαΐαις l. 28. θαλίαις l. 34. εὐφρόνως l. 40.

XI. χάριν l. 58; χάριν l. 12. τεθαλότα l. 53. εὐφροσύνα l. 45.

XII. Χαρίτων l. 26. φιλάγλαε l. 1.

Thus Pindar in all the odes in which he does not pay a direct tribute to the Graces, makes us aware that the air is permeated by a literally 'gracious' influence. There are four exceptions; but of these it is possible that one is only apparent, as there are grave reasons for suspecting that the Fifth Olympian is not a work of Pindar. The Eleventh and Twelfth Olympians and the Second Nemean are such short hymns that they cannot fairly be said to invalidate my generalisation. And even of these exceptions two may be only apparent. In the Second Nemean, in honour of an Athenian victor, Pindar may have considered that he had done due homage to Charis, by using a verb (ἀέξει l. 13) which the Athenian Grace Αὔξω might take to herself. The Twelfth Olympian, consisting of a single system, is possibly only a fragment of a longer ode; on me, certainly, it has always produced the impression of incompleteness. If it is a fragment, I have no doubt that the Graces were mentioned or alluded to in the lost part.

APPENDIX C.

PINDAR'S VISIT TO SICILY.

IN connexion with the dates of the two odes to Chromius, *Nemean* I. and *Nemean* IX., the question arises as to the chronology of Pindar's visit to Sicily. On this point no direct statement of any ancient writer has been preserved to us. The work of Antiochus, where there was some notice, no doubt, of the 'Theban poet's presence at the court of the Syracusan sovran, is lost, and Diodorus does not help us. From the *Lives* of Pindar we only learn the fact that Pindar was at the court of Hiero. Boeckh and Dissen however have approximately determined from internal evidence the time of Pindar's departure for Sicily. The reasoning is based on data furnished by *Pythian* III. and *Olympian* I.

Pythian III. celebrates victories won by Hiero's horse Pherenikos. This horse won two victories at Delphi, according to a scholium on *Pyth.* III. (Dissen's ed. of Boeckh, II. p. 327), which gives us the dates Ol. 73, 3 and Ol. 74, 3. But the ode was composed much later, not only after the accession of Hiero to the sovranity of Syracuse (Ol. 75, 3) but after the foundation of Aetna (Ol. 76, 1), cf. l. 69. As it must have been written for an anniversary of the victories, we get as the earliest possible date Ol. 76, 3 (474). But in this year Hiero was proclaimed victor in the Pythian chariot race (which Pindar soon afterwards celebrated in the First Pythian ode), and as there is no allusion to this brilliant success, it would seem that *Pythian* III. was written and dispatched to Sicily shortly before the celebration of the games at Delphi in Ol. 76, 3 (*i.e.* July or August 474), so as to be sung at Syracuse or Aetna on the day of commemoration.

Now when Pindar wrote this ode it is clear that he was in Thebes, not in Sicily. This follows from l. 68 *sqq.*:

καί κεν ἐν ναυσὶν μόλον Ἴονίαν τέμνων θάλασσαν
 Ἀρέθουσιν ἐπὶ κράναν παρ' Αἰτναῖον ξένον
 * * * * *

76 ἐξικόμαν κε βαθὺν πόντον περάσαις.

Hence Pindar did not go to Sicily before the summer of 474.

The First Olympian celebrates a victory won by the same horse at Olympia in Ol. 77 (July or August), 472 B.C. If it could be proved that Pindar was in Sicily when this ode was written, it is clear that we could fix the time of his going there between the limits of summer 474 and summer or autumn 472. Boeckh and Dissen infer from ll. 8—11 and l. 16 that Pindar was then with Hiero.

8 ὅθεν ὁ πολύφατος ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται
 σοφῶν μῆτιέσσι, κελαδεῖν
 Κρόνου παῖδ' ἐς ἀφνεὰν ἰκομένους
 μάκαιραν Ἰέρωνος ἐστίαν.
 16 οἷα παίζομεν φίλαν
 ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ θαμὰ τράπεζαν.

It cannot be denied that these verses go very near to proving that Pindar was in Sicily when he wrote them. οἷα παίζομεν are hardly the words of a man who had not yet been on a visit to Hiero. They are not quite as clear perhaps as ἐξικόμαν κε in the Third Pythian; but I think we cannot fairly get out of Boeckh's conclusion.

The going of Pindar to the west is thus narrowed down to the limits of two years. We can hardly compress the limits more with anything like certainty. If the chariot of Chromius was victorious at Nemea in Ol. 76, 4 (July 473), and if the First Nemean ode was composed immediately when the news reached Chromius, then it follows that Pindar went to Sicily between summer 474 and summer 473. But (1) Boeckh's view assigning *Nemean* 1. to Ol. 76, 4 is not certain, for the victory might have been gained in summer of 471 (beginning of Ol. 77, 2), or (2) the ode might have been written for performance on an anniversary of the original victory.

In any case *Nemean* 1. was written either when Pindar was still in Sicily, or after his visit. This follows from l. 19 ἔσταν κ.τ.λ. The past tense rather suggests that he was not actually present at the performance of the hymn, and is referring to previous hospitality afforded to him by Chromius. But it does not follow that he was not in Sicily at the time. I feel pretty certain that Boeckh, Dissen, Mezger and most Pindaric commentators are right in teaching that the Sicyonian ode to Chromius is later than the Nemean; though

it is assuredly odd that in the hymn on the lesser victory at the games of Apollo, no reference is made to the greater victory at the games of Zeus. But it is by no means clear in what part of Greece, proper or improper, Pindar was, when the Sicyonian ode was written. It is generally assumed that he was still in Sicily, and present at the festivities, which he encourages in the last strophes. But there is not a word which really supports the assumption, and I own that the first lines of the ode seem to me to suggest, if they suggest anything, that they were written out of Sicily.

We can determine then approximately the date of Pindar's going to Sicily, but for the date of his return we cannot get anything nearer than the likelihood that it took place before Ol. 78, 1. For that year is probably, though not certainly, the date of *Olympian* vi., which was not written in Sicily (the other possible date being Ol. 76, 1).

Perhaps this is all one is strictly entitled to say. The interpretation however which I have given of *Nemean* 1. suggests a conjectural restoration of the chronology. I have pointed out that Pindar holds out to Chromius the prospect of an Olympian victory. This suggests that Boeckh's date is right, that the Nemean wreath was won in 473 and that Chromius intended to compete for the Olympian olive in 472. If he did actually take part in the chariot race then, he and his horses were not as lucky as his sovran Hiero and the famous steed Pherenikos at the same festival. A few years later, perhaps when Pindar has returned to Greece, he is asked by Chromius, then installed at Aetna, to celebrate a victory gained years ago at Sicyon. The poet writes now in a different strain, no longer making allusions to a possible Olympian victory, but speaking as if the active career of Chromius were well-nigh over.

There is one thing about these two hymns to Chromius which has always struck me as strange. That is the absence of all reference to Hiero. This silence stands in marked contrast with the Sixth Olympian hymn to Agesias, where the poet takes the opportunity to sing the praises of the Syracusan sovran. But we shall doubtless be in a better position to judge of the politics of Syracuse and Aetna, and the relations of Hiero and Dinomenes to Chromius when Mr Freeman's work on Sicily appears.

APPENDIX D.

ORIGIN OF THE GREAT GAMES.

It has always been recognised as a patent fact that the great games celebrated at Olympia, at Pytho, at Nemea and on the Isthmus, were a most important bond of unity between Greek-speaking peoples. But it has not been recognised that these Panhellenic festivals were only an outcome of a fact more general still. In order to explain this, it will be necessary to search for the origin of these festivals in the obscurity of early Greek history. The clue to the ramifying history of the centuries preceding the Persian War has always appeared to me to be the struggle towards a Hellenic unity, which, politically at least, was never destined to be realized. It was found impossible to blend thoroughly the Ionian *ἄλεια* and the Dorian *ὄξος*; or, in the metaphor of a recent German writer, the Ionian horse and the Dorian ox would not pull together. Yet the sum of Greek history was a series of attempts to solve this insoluble problem, and sometimes the solution seemed not far off. Delphic influence was exerted in this Panhellenic direction, and the Delphic amphictyony did important work in promoting the unity of Hellas.

But besides the religious authority of Delphi, there was another power that represented the spirit of Panhellenism and furthered its cause. This power was the *τυραννίς*. Greece owed to the great tyrants of the seventh and sixth centuries far more than she confessed or knew. The despots, doubtless, were not fully conscious of the great historical meaning of their policy, even as Sparta was not conscious of the significance of hers. But as Sparta represented the principle of narrow provincial isolation, the despots were essentially the champions of a wide and expansive Hellenedom. This, I conceive, and not any minor differences as to the best form of political constitutions—was the deepest cause of the eternal feud between Lacedaemon and the *tyrannis*. The work of the tyrants was to tame the Dorian ox;

and Sparta, herself untamable, tried to hinder the accomplishment of such bold designs. It is well-known that the commercial and social intercourse of Greek nations was encouraged and promoted under the rule of the tyrants, in Hellas proper as well as in Hellas beyond the seas, and that the courts of the despots were centres of Hellenic culture. But one work of the *tyrannis*, a work of the highest importance for the history of Greece, has not been recognized as such. I refer to the founding of the Panhellenic Games.

The foundations of three of the great agonistic festivals are generally admitted to fall in the early part of the sixth century.

(1) The Pythian ἀγὼν στεφανίτης was inaugurated by the Amphictyons in 586 after the conclusion of the Sacred War¹. But the chief promoter of this inauguration was Clisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, who had been one of the leaders in the conquest of Cirrha. It was through his influence² that the Amphictyons decided to introduce at Delphi gymnastic and curule games in honour of Apollo on the model of those which were celebrated at Olympia in honour of Zeus. The feast took place at the beginning of the 3rd year of each Olympiad, that is in the late summer of every even year (B.C.) which is not divisible by 4 (586, 582 &c.). The prize was a wreath of laurel.

(2) About the same time the Isthmia were founded by Periander, the tyrant of Corinth. A panegyric in honour of Poseidon and some local games, doubtless, existed already, but this provincial festivity was now exalted by the great despot into an ἀγὼν στεφανίτης, which was celebrated in April every second and fourth Olympiad (every even year B.C. 586, 584, *sqq.*³). The victors were rewarded by wreaths of dry parsley. Both Eusebius and Jerome testify that the Pythia and Isthmia began in the same year. If this statement is correct the games of Corinth were a few months older than the games of Pytho. Duncker, however, who places the first Pythias in 590, assigns the foundation of the Isthmian Games to 587. He thinks that Periander owed the idea to Clisthenes. 'Was Periander,' he asks, 'to remain behind the neigh-

¹ The Pythia were renewed after the war in 590, but the addition of curule and gymnastic contests was not made until 586, which is rightly called by Pausanias the first Pythias. It seems however that the ἀγὼν did not become στεφανίτης until 582 (in which year Clisthenes was victor in the chariot race). In 586 it was still an ἀγὼν χρηματίας.

² This is amply admitted by Duncker,

History of Greece (Eng. Tr.) II. 369, 370.

³ More precisely (Schömann, *Gr. Alterthümer*, II. 69) 'auf der Grenzscheide zwischen dem vierten und ersten wie zwischen dem zweiten und dritten Olympiadenjahre begangen, so dass es bald in den letzten bald in den ersten Monat des Olympiadenjahres fiel.'—The Eleans were excluded from the Isthmia.

bouring king of so small a town as Sicyon¹?' I cordially concur with Duncker's view (at which indeed I had arrived independently), that Periander² inaugurated the Isthmia, but I am not sure that he is right in assigning the priority to the Sicyonian tyrant. He is certainly not right in fixing the date of the first Isthmia as 587. This dating seems due to a miscalculation. The end of 587 and the beginning of 586 belong to the same Olympiad, 48, 2; and if Duncker had named Ol. 48, 2 as the date, he would have been right, for this would have implied April 586. If we regard 586 as the first Pythias, we must conclude that the first Isthmias was nearly four months older; and, in any case, the Isthmia as an ἀγὼν στεφανίτης were older than the Pythia. We can hardly, I think, draw any definite conclusion from the official order of the games, in which the Pythia came second, the Isthmia third; for this may have been due to the circumstance that the Pythia like the Olympia were a *pentacteris*. And against this we have to place the tradition that the Isthmia were even older than the Olympia. Grote thought that the foundation of the Isthmia must be placed before 594 B.C., because it is recorded that Solon instituted valuable rewards for Athenians who should win victories at Olympia or on the Isthmus. But any date before 580 is compatible with this circumstance. In the same connexion it is to be observed that the Athenians had a share in the Isthmian sacrifice. Theseus was supposed to have taken part in the legendary foundation of the Isthmia.

(3) The first Nemead fell in 573 (Ol. 51, 4). The circumstances of this inauguration can only be inferred indirectly. The *agonothesia* or administration of these games was vested in the citizens of Cleonae. But we cannot ascribe the transformation of local games, which may have been celebrated in the vale of the lion, to the sole, unaided energy of that little city, which never possessed independent political importance, at least since the days before Phidon. Now we know that during the reign of Clisthenes, Cleonae was made subject to Sicyon; on this fact, vouched for by Plutarch, Curtius has rightly insisted³. We know also that Cleonae must have thrown off the yoke of Sicyon before the death of Clisthenes, which probably took place about 565. For Clisthenes would never have consented to the inauguration of the Nemean festival, supposed to have been founded by Adrastus, the hero whose memory he had treated with such marked contumely at Sicyon. The natural conclusion is that Cleonae celebrated her deliverance from the rule of Sicyon by inaugurating the Nemean ἀγὼν.

¹ II. 370.

ascertained—585.

² The date of Periander's death is well

³ Curtius, *Griechische Geschichte*, I⁵. 658.

There was thus a certain element of truth in the theory of Hermann (accepted by Curtius) that the Nemea were instituted in memory of the fall of the Orthagorids. The fall of the Orthagorids had not yet taken place, but an event had happened which marked the decline of the Orthagorid power; and this event led to the institution of the Nemea in 573. But in rebelling against Sicyon and in founding the new games, Cleonae must clearly have been aided by some state stronger than herself. This state can only have been Argos, to which she had been formerly subject, in the days of Phidon, the despot. Argos and Sicyon were rivals. The power of Argos had waned since the death of Phidon; the power of Sicyon had waxed under the rule of Clisthenes. This tyrant had shown his hatred for the Dorian spirit rudely enough in his renaming of the Dorian tribes, and for Argos especially by his treatment of the memory of Adrastus. We may be sure that the liberation of Cleonae was wrought with the help and countenance of Argos, and that the Argives were deeply interested in that event. It is certainly in accordance with the historical probabilities of the case that the city of Hera should have promoted the new inauguration, on a grand scale, of the festival associated with Cleonae, and that the Nemean ἀγὼν στεφανίτης should have been first celebrated under the Argive shield.

But a record which has been fortunately preserved leaves us in little doubt that this is the true combination. Eusebius states that the Argives usurped the conduct of the Nemean games in the 53rd Olympiad (567 B.C.). That the men of Cleonae were the presidents in the days of Pindar we know from passages in his Odes; but they did not retain this prerogative permanently, for Strabo¹ speaks of the sacred grove ἐν ᾗ καὶ τὰ Νέμεα συντελεῖν ἔθος τοῖς Ἀργείοις. Eusebius had got hold of a fact, but he distorted it. His statement really proves the close connexion of Argos with the Nemean games in the earliest stage of their history. We may infer that the Cleonaeans administered the *agon* under the patronage of Argos. But there is no reason to suppose that Argos and Cleonae quarrelled for the presidency, like the men of Pisa and Elis. This is confirmed by the argument, which Grote adduced to overthrow the statement of Eusebius, and which really supports a modified acceptance of it. Grote acutely observes that in the Tenth Nemean Ode (not really a Nemean) in honour of the Argive Theaeus, the Nemean prizes gained by ancestors of the victor are called 'prizes received from Cleonaeans men,' and that if there had been a

¹ Bk. VIII. 377. Pausanias II. 15. belonged to Corinth (see introductory Holm, *Gr. Geschichte*, I. 291. In later *scholia* on the Nemean Odes of Pindar). times the *agonothesia* seems to have

standing dispute between Argos and Cleonae on the subject of the administration of the games, such a designation would have been conspicuously unhappy.

The question touching the successors of Phidon who ruled at Argos is obscure, but it is perfectly certain that in the sixth century the government was carried on by kings or despots who had inherited the traditions and ambitions, though not the power, of the great tyrant of the seventh century. Herodotus mentions among the suitors of Agariste, Leocedes son of Phidon of Argos. This statement has caused great perplexity. A son of the great Phidon could hardly have been a suitor for the hand of Agariste, nor is it likely that any Argive prince would have appeared for such a purpose at the court of Clisthenes. It seems clear that there is a chronological mistake. In order to make the visitors of Clisthenes completely representative of Hellas, Herodotus (or rather his authority) introduced an Argive prince who really lived in the preceding century. This is a more simple explanation than to assume a second Phidon, confounded by Herodotus with the more famous despot of the same name. I shall have something more to say on the Phidon question presently; but it appears that we cannot attempt to identify the sovereign who governed Argos in 573. It is however quite enough for the present purpose to establish that the Nemean games were celebrated in 573 under the auspices of an Argive ruler. The feast recurred every second year¹, in summer, and the victors were crowned with fresh parsley.

But in connexion with the Nemea a further question arises to which we shall have to return presently. Was the event of 573 a new foundation or a revival? Is it possible that an ἀγὼν στεφανίτης was celebrated at Nemea before Cleonae passed under the power of Sicyon, and that Clisthenes suppressed it, in accordance with the rest of his policy? It will be convenient to reserve this problem for a later stage in our discussion.

Before proceeding to consider whether any conclusion can be drawn

¹ Scaliger started the idea of summer and winter Nemea celebrated alternately, basing his view on two passages in Pausanias, where winter Nemea are mentioned (II. 15, 2 and VI. 16, 4). In this he was followed by Boeckh, Hermann, Schömann (*Gr. Alterthümer*, II. 68), but Unger in two important papers in *Philologus* ('Die zeit der nemeischen spiele,' XXXIV. 50 *sqq.*, and 'Die win-

ternemeen,' XXXVII. 524 *sqq.*) showed convincingly that the winter Nemea were a late institution (in imperial times); and also proved that the month Panemos, on the 18th of which the summer Nemea were celebrated, corresponds (not to Metageitnion, as Boeckh thought, nor to Boedromion, as Hermann held but) to Hecatombaeon. Thus the Nemea fell in July.

as to the origin of the most ancient and august of all the agonistic festivals, I would direct attention for a moment to the Panathenaea at Athens. The foundation of the Great Panathenaea as a pentacterid, on the model of the Olympia and Pythia, belongs to the second half of the sixth century and was due to Pisistratus. Gymnic games had been introduced at Athens in 566 B.C., six years before the elevation of Pisistratus, but this tyrant was the first to establish in his city games of Panhellenic fame and importance. It is strange that Pisistratus did not constitute this contest an ἀγὼν στεφανίτης. In that case, the Panathenaea would probably have ranked with the four great agonistic festivals of Greece.

Thus all the states of Hellas, which were ever first-rate powers in those early times, founded Panhellenic festivals,—with two remarkable exceptions; Sparta in the Peloponnese and Thebes in northern Greece, the two great cities where, in that period, the *tyrannis* was never introduced. The Isthmia, the Pythia, the Nemea, the Great Panathenaea were all established under the influence or auspices of despots. Thus the theory put forward by Hermann, rejected by Grote, and revived by E. Curtius, that the games, at least the Nemea and Isthmia, were a demonstration against the *tyrannis*, is so far from being true that it exactly reverses the truth. Hermann thought that the Isthmia celebrated the fall of the Cypselids, the Nemea the fall of the Orthagorids; that the Spartans had taken a leading part in pulling down both these ruling houses; and that Sparta's influence was active in promoting the institution of the *agones*. The chronological data alone suffice to refute this theory. The hypothesis that Sparta intervened has no foundation; the hypothesis that she helped to found the festivals is contrary to all *a priori* probability. No Panhellenic *agon* was likely to be inaugurated through the influence of that state; it was notorious that the games on the Eurotas were never thrown open to the rest of Hellas; and the sole exception which Sparta made in favour of the Olympia was due to a political necessity. The Greek *agones* were truly the visible memorial of the beneficent effects of the *tyrannis*.

(4) If these considerations are just, an important principle has been established, and it remains to consider whether the Olympian games form an exception to that principle. In examining this question we must disregard the chronology of the Olympian register which was compiled about 400 B.C. by Hippias of Elis on uncertain data¹. In a

¹ The words of Plutarch (*Numa*, cap. 1) are highly significant: τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἐξακριβῶσαι χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν

remarkable paper which appeared nine years ago in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (vol. ii.) Mr Mahaffy disputed the authenticity of the Olympian register, bringing forward arguments which have never been answered, and which to me appear cogent. The arrangement of events in the eighth century from 776 downwards was a construction of the fancy and ingenuity of Hippias, based on *a priori* considerations; and the reckoning by Olympiads did not come into general use until the 3rd century B.C.¹ It was always a tendency of the Greek mind to assign an imaginary antiquity to the events of their ancient history. Some accounts place Phidon of Argos in the ninth century²; most modern historians have followed the statements which place him in the eighth; but it has been shown beyond reasonable doubt that he really lived in the middle of the seventh³. This is an instance of the tendency to push back events into an earlier epoch. It may be affirmed with certainty that Greek chronology begins for us in the seventh century; and it is probable that almost all the historical events which, according to the Register, took place in the first twenty Olympiads, really belong to the following generations.

This is not the place to enter into the vexed question about Phidon's date, but as the most recent German historians, Busolt, Holm and Duncker, have declared themselves for the old date in opposition to the view first propounded by Weissenborn and made current by the approval of K. F. Hermann and Ernst Curtius, it is necessary to say a few words on the subject. As I cannot profess faith in the early Olympiads, I am not going to contend with Weissenborn that there is a mistake in the text of Pausanias and that in the passage where he speaks of Phidon at Olympia, we should read the 28th for the 8th Olympiad⁴. It would be hazardous in my opinion to suppose that

ἀναγομένους, ὧν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὀψέ-
φασιν Ἰππίαν ἐκδοῦναι τὸν Ἑλεῖον ἀπ'
οὐδενὸς ὀρμώμενον ἀναγκαίου πρὸς
πίστιν. Two points strike one here.
(1) Plutarch is not proving any theory of
his own, and therefore his scepticism in
respect to the early Olympiads is not
biased. (2) There seems little doubt
that he echoes the censure of some much
older critic, perhaps of a contemporary
of Hippias. The register of Hippias
can hardly have passed unchallenged at
the time of its publication.

¹ So Holm, *Griechische Geschichte*, 1.

285, 'Die allgemeine Benutzung der Olym-
piaden für die griechische Chronologie
ist aber viel später, besonders durch
den Historiker Timaios von Tauromenion
im dritten Jahrh. v. Chr. gebräuchlich
geworden.'

² The Parian Marble.

³ Weissenborn, *Hellen* (Jena 1844).
This date is accepted by E. Curtius
(668—660 B.C.), I. 656, but rejected by
Duncker and Busolt (after Unger) and
by Mr Evelyn Abbott.

⁴ VI. 22, 2.

Pausanias knew the right date. I shall confine myself to three remarks. (1) The placement of Phidon in the eighth century (770—744, nearly) was not due to any positive knowledge derived from records, but was determined by the calculation that he was the tenth from the semi-mythical Temenus. (2) According to Ephorus¹, silver coinage was introduced into Greece by Phidon. There seems no reason to question the truth of the record, and here one may judge the champion of Phidon's early date out of his own mouth. Unger is supposed by those who hold to the eighth century to have decided the whole question by his elaborate arguments in *Philologus*². Now Unger speaks of Ephorus with the utmost respect as 'eine autorität ersten ranges auf dem gebiete der älteren hellenischen geschichte.' There is therefore on his own showing no reason to doubt the record of Ephorus. Now all the best authorities on numismatics are agreed that money was not coined in Greece until the beginning of the seventh century³. It follows that Phidon cannot have lived so early as 770—745. (3) One of Weissenborn's arguments for the later date of Phidon was that Leocedes, Phidon's son, appears at the marriage of Agariste in Herodotus⁴. The argument, as Weissenborn puts it, is worthless, and his opponents easily upset it, pointing out that the marriage of Agariste is romance (perhaps Herodotus derived his account of it from a poem) and adding that in any case, even with the later date, Phidon's son could hardly have been a suitor of Agariste⁵. But Leocedes supplies us with an argument notwithstanding. If Phidon lived in the first half of the eighth century, as Busolt and Holm believe, it is perfectly incredible that Herodotus (or the sixth century poet from whom he drew the story) would have made him the father of a contemporary of Clisthenes. The discrepancy would have been too great and too obvious. If on the other hand he lived in the first half of the seventh century and was perhaps really the grandfather of Leocedes,

¹ Strabo VIII. 376 (and 358). See also *Marm. Par. Ep.* 30.

² B. XXVIII. and XXIX.

³ See Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* I. 256 'die gründlichsten Forscher sind sich gegenwärtig darüber einig, dass man sie nicht wohl vor 700 setzen kann' (and Hultsch therefore places Phidon in the seventh century). Money was doubtless coined in Lydia first, but there is no reason to question the statement that Phidon first introduced minting in Greece. Busolt however rejects it and speaks of Ephorus

as 'ein keineswegs zuverlässiger Zeuge,' although in the same breath he accepts the conclusions of Unger, in whose arguments the statements of Ephorus play a conspicuous part (see Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* pp. 143, 144).

⁴ Herodotus VI. 127.

⁵ So Holm, I. 256 'Aber erstens hat die Geschichte von den Freiern der Agariste keinen Werth als Grundlage chronologischer Forschungen, und zweitens wäre für den Vater einer dieser Freier Ol. 28 noch zu früh.'

the apparition of 'the son of Phidon' at the court of Sicyon about 570 is less startling. We can understand Herodotus passing over the difficulty in this case without comment. Herodotus was in a position to have quite as trustworthy information touching the date of Phidon as either Hippias of Elis or Pausanias, and if he had been taught that Phidon lived two hundred years before Clisthenes he would not have omitted to call attention to the glaring chronological inaccuracy in the tale which he tells about the suitors of Agariste.

The revision of chronology—to which the first step was taken by the recognition of Phidon's true date—will clearly affect the received view touching the foundation or revival of the Olympian festival in the eighth century. If we look merely at the probabilities of the matter, it is not easy to believe that any great Panhellenic institution was founded in the eighth century. We may readily grant that there were local games connected with the worship of Zeus on the banks of the Alpheus as early as 776; but the received view that 776 meant for the Olympia anything like what 586 meant for the Pythia, is, I submit, incredible; and even the cautious Duncker makes an admission which if logically carried out confirms my position. 'The Spartans,' he says, 'relying on their close connexion with Elis now [end of seventh century] adopted a legend which ascribed the institution of the common sacrifice at Olympia to Lycurgus and Iphitus¹.' Thus the foundation of Iphitus is as legendary as that of Heracles or those of Oxylyus and the other mythical heroes to whom revivals of the Olympia are ascribed by Pausanias².

Now it appears to me of the highest significance that *the first historical personage* (in the strict sense of the term historical—the personality of 'Lycurgus' is doubtful) *whose name has been associated with the Olympian games is the despot Phidon of Argos*. In the eighth Olympiad, according to the text of Pausanias (in the twenty-eighth according to the emendation which some accept) Phidon espoused the cause of Pisa against Elis, and the Olympian games were celebrated under his presidency. The Argive power was at this time at its height. When we reflect that the personal names which Greek writers connect with the administration of the festival in days earlier than Phidon, are all mythical like Heracles or semi-mythical like Iphitus, it seems a legitimate historical inference that Phidon did for the Olympia what one of his successors did for the Nemea, what Clisthenes did for the Pythia, and Periander for the Isthmia.

¹ II. 246.

² V. 8.

There are special considerations which confirm this view. (1) It is recognised that Phidon fixed the length of the *stadion*, the Olympic race-course¹. This seems to point to a complete remodelling of old local games at Pisa. (2) If Phidon established the Olympic agon, we have at once a definite explanation of the legend that Heracles was the original founder. For Phidon, in pursuing the policy of expanding the Argive power, posed as the successor of Heracles. He professed to be reconquering lands and cities which had been subdued of old by the great Dorian hero². Thus the mythical connexion of Heracles with the Olympian games accords with the theory that Phidon was the original agonothete. It may be added that, as Duncker properly points out, 'the worship of Heracles was an addition and not a very early one.'³ This is shown by the statement of Pausanias that 'Iphitus persuaded the Eleans to sacrifice to Heracles, for the Eleans before deemed Heracles their enemy⁴.' This was the Elean way of putting it. According to my guess it was Phidon who did what the Eleans attributed to Iphitus. In this connexion the conjecture that *Heraclea*, a town five miles west of Olympia, may have been founded by Phidon is noticeable⁵.

The oldest building discovered by the German excavations at Olympia is the temple of Hera, which, according to Pausanias⁶, was built by men of Skillus about 8 years after the beginning of the reign of Oxylyus in Elis. The archaeologists agree that the remains point to an earlier date than the oldest temple at Selinus; this brings us to 630 B.C. as a minor limit. Greek architecture was not slow in developing, and it would hardly be sober to assert that the Heraeum was necessarily older than 660. Some omniscient Germans would fix the date at 1000 B.C., but few will be bold enough to venture without a light into the ages before 'Homer.' It might be a safer guess that Phidon had something to do with the Heraeum which men of Skillus built, and that the cult of Hera came across to Olympia from Argos, her own special city, in the middle of the seventh century.

It certainly seems to me impossible that the Olympian games, as a

¹ Duncker, II. 245.

² Strabo, VIII. 358.

³ II. 252. Holm, *Gr. Gesch.* I. 284; 'Da Pelops der Ahnherr der durch die Herakliden verdrängten Fürsten eines grossen Theiles des Peloponnes war, muss auch in Olympia sein Kultus älter gewesen sein als der des Herakles, der

dort nicht einmal ein Temenos gehabt zu haben scheint [the Italics are mine], und der wohl erst spät als Gründer des Festes betrachtet worden ist.' But Holm's 'spät' is too early.

⁴ V. 4.

⁵ Duncker, II. 252.

⁶ V. 16, I.

Panhellenic festival, should have been started without the influence, money and enterprise of a great power. And from the origins of the other great ἀγῶνες, we are perhaps justified in inferring that, in all probability, the Olympia too were inaugurated by a 'tyrant.' It is clear that the only possible tyrant who could have been associated with their institution was the first and perhaps the greatest of all,—the earliest pioneer of Panhellenism, the Argive Phidon. This is the *a priori* argument, and perhaps it is not too much to say that it is supported by the scanty evidence of the records. Phidon, I repeat, is the first historical person associated with the Olympian agon; and Phidon identified his exploits with the career of Heracles, to whom the institution of the Olympia was attributed. Such a work was thoroughly worthy of the enlightened policy and manifold activity of the Argive despot, of whose acts indeed we know far too little. It would hardly have been achieved by any man of less note. And it certainly would not have been either achieved or conceived in an earlier period. Curtius justly observed that what is recorded of Phidon 'passt nur in das siebente Jahrhundert v. Chr.'¹ I feel convinced that the same remark is true of the institution of Panhellenic games.

It is not difficult to discern the general outline of the early history of the Olympia. Perhaps in the year 668 B.C., perhaps earlier, perhaps later, Pisa became dependent on Argos, which then, under the guidance of Phidon, was pushing her power towards the west of the Peloponnesus. It is probable that Pisa had been before subject to her Elean neighbours, and that she gladly exchanged dependence on Elis for dependence on more distant Argos. Struck by the situation of the Altis—and of this there will be more to say presently—Phidon conceived the idea of elevating the local games, which were celebrated there, into a Panhellenic *agon*, and, while the men of Pisa were permitted to enjoy the privilege of the *agonothesia* (συντελεῖν τὸν ἀγῶνα), the festival was celebrated under Argive auspices and started with Argive money. So it continued in the days of Phidon and until the power of Argos declined. Then the jealous men of Elis, when Argos no longer held them in check, hastened to share or usurp the privilege of their weaker neighbours, and were cordially supported by Sparta, which was always interested in opposing Argive influence.

The tradition which recorded the existence of the Olympia in the eighth century is a simple consequence of its history in the seventh. It was the cue of the Elean usurpers to base their act of might on a plea of right, and they pretended that they had been the *agonothetes* in

¹ *Griechische Geschichte*, I. 656.

olden times, and were only recovering a privilege of which Argos had forcibly deprived them. It need hardly be remarked that such an invention was thoroughly characteristic of Greeks. The Elean kings, Oxylyus and Iphitus, were brought into connexion with the *agon*; while at the same time the associations with Heracles, initiated by Phidon, were not discarded. The struggle between Pisa and Elis for the agonothesia in the seventh century was represented as the continuation of a struggle which had taken place in the eighth, and thus it was made to appear that the claims of Elis reached into remote antiquity. The connexion of Lycurgus with the Elean king was merely a reflexion of the bond between the Spartans and Eleans in the last years of the seventh century.

There is a further consideration which may be adduced in favour of the guess propounded in the foregoing pages as to the origin of the Olympia. It has been observed¹ as a somewhat curious fact that the games of the Olympic *agon* present no likeness to the contests described in the 23rd Book of the *Iliad*. One might have expected that the Greeks, who had such a profound reverence for Homer, would have framed their athletic contests on the Homeric model. Mr Mahaffy has pointed out to me that if, according to the view put forward in these pages, the Greek games of historic times were the creation of the *tyrannis*, the anomaly is explained. The Homeric contests were only intended for the nobles; whereas the tyrants were not concerned to promote the interests of the nobles who were their political foes, but, on the contrary, the interests of the *dêmos*. The sports of Olympia were designed to be open to every Greek, whether of noble or of vulgar birth; and therefore the *agon* of Homer could be no model for the *agon* instituted by Phidon and copied by his imitators. Chariot races were only for noble competitors, and it is significant that the early contests at Olympia, according to our Greek authorities, were foot-races.

In the days of Pindar the Sicilian kings and nobles were frequent competitors at the Olympic games, and it may well strike us that Olympia was a remarkably convenient centre for a Panhellenic festival, as far as Sicily was concerned. Situated near the coast of Greece, facing the island of the west, the Altis seemed to invite the lords of Syracuse and Acragas to cross the Ionian *πóρος* and contend for olive leaves on the banks of the Alpheus. If it was merely by accident that the most important festival of Greece was celebrated on a spot whose geographical position rendered it so admirably suited to be a connecting link with western Greece beyond the seas, it was by an accident

¹ By Mr Mahaffy, *op. cit.*

which certainly had important results. The games at Pisa were frequented by the Sicilian and Italian Greeks. Thus the Olympian celebration was adapted, through geographical circumstances, to promote intercourse between the Peloponnesus and the West, whereas it did not tend, in the same measure, to encourage communication with the East¹. Of the ten treasure houses at Olympia, which we know of, five belonged to Sicilian and Italian towns.

That this was the result of an accident I can hardly believe. I would maintain that it was the result of design. The man who conceived the idea of the Olympian ἀγὼν στεφανίτης and inaugurated one of the most remarkable and permanent institutions of the Hellenic world, was not likely to be blind to the geographical aspect of the place which he selected; nor could he have failed to consider the political bearings of his choice. We may be sure that Phidon of Argos was wide awake to the probable results of a Panhellenic festival near the western shores of the Peloponnesus; and that those results harmonized with the rest of his policy. The choice of Olympia was plainly the choice of a man whose eyes were turned to the west rather than to the east; and if it can be shown that Phidon had reasons for desiring to promote intercourse with Sicily, it is clear that this will be an additional confirmation of the view urged in the foregoing pages, that Phidon was the founder of the Olympian games.

The great object of Phidon's policy was to promote free traffic and intercourse among the Greeks, in opposition to the narrow Dorian principles so obstinately upheld at Sparta. Curtius has brought out this feature in words which are worth quoting: 'Statt der Concentration im Binnenlande die Richtung auf das Meer, statt der Trennung der Stände Vermischung und Ausgleichung, statt des Abschlusses gegen aussen freier Verkehr, und dieser Verkehr wird nun in demselben Grade erleichtert wie Lykurg ihn erschwert hatte.' Such was the program of Phidon, and such the motive of his most famous measures. 'To facilitate the traffic between the opposite coasts of the archipelago was the essential aim of his legislation touching coins and weights.'

¹ The westward aspect has of course been noticed by others, and, since writing the remarks in the text, I have found it well stated by Holm (*Gr. Gesch.* i. 290): 'Schaut doch Olympia, wie mit Recht gesagt worden ist, nach Westen. Nach Westen weist der Alpheios, der auf dem sicilischen Ortygia wieder zum Vorschein

kommt; im Westen, in Sicilien, hat die Freude an olympischen Siegen auf den Münzen mit den Viergespannen einen charakteristischen Ausdruck gefunden. So ist Olympia das vornehmste Band das die westlichen Kolonien an Griechenland knüpfte.' Was all this the result of chance?

But the cities in the west must have attracted the attention of Phidon as well as the cities in the east. In his time the settlements of the Greeks in Sicily had just begun and the colonisation beyond the seas was progressing briskly. I find it hard to believe that the foundations of the Greek cities in Sicily are more ancient than the seventh century. It is difficult to give any credence to the chronology which Thucydides derived from the history of Antiochus of Syracuse, for all the dates depend on a preconceived numerical system¹, and were clearly invented for the purpose of exalting the age of Syracuse. The antiquity of his native city was one of the great vanities of every Greek; and therefore, as Antiochus was a Syracusan, we are compelled to be distrustful. I strongly suspect that in the earlier part of his history, Antiochus was as little trustworthy as Hajek for the history of Bohemia, or the 'nameless scribe' of king Béla for the doings of his Magyar forefathers. But as the work of Antiochus is lost, there is no chance here for a Palacky or a Roesler. We may regard it as highly probable that Archias of Corinth laid the foundations of Syracuse in the seventh century, and it seems likely that he was a contemporary of Phidon. Archias, like Phidon, was said to be the tenth from Temenus², and perhaps we may accept the synchronism, as long as it does not commit us to a definite date. However this may be,—whether Phidon was actually acquainted with the founder of Syracuse or not,—the conclusion that Phidon, when he chose Olympia for the ἀγὼν στεφανίτης, had his eyes on Sicily, is thoroughly in harmony with all that we know of the aims of his policy. He doubtless regarded also other western islands nearer home. We may well suppose that the enemy

¹ Cf. the remarks of Mr Mahaffy, *The Olympic Register* in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. II. p. 124. It is to be observed that the sources of Antiochus were confessedly oral; see Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* I. 224. Dionysius Hal., *Arch.* I. 12, quotes Antiochus' own words about his history of Italy, 'Ἀντίοχος Ξενοφάνεος τάδε συνέγραψε περὶ Ἰταλίας ἐκ τῶν λόγων τὰ πιστότατα καὶ σαφέστατα κ.τ.λ. Thus the credibility of Antiochus depends on the validity of his conception of τὸ πιστόν. For his Sicilian history, from Kôkalos king of the Sicani to 424 B.C., see Diodorus XII. 71.—Of Hippys of Rhegium, who wrote on Si-

cilian affairs shortly before Antiochus, we know nothing.

² See Ephorus, fr. 15.—The relations of Phidon with Corinth are obscure. It has been inferred from some statements that Corinth was dependent on Argos in his reign (Busolt, *Gr. Geschichte* I. 68). For the tale of Abnon and Phidon's death see Plutarch, *Am. Narr.* 2 (for Actaeon and Archias, see Diodorus VIII. 7).—In *Philologus* XXVIII. Unger discusses Phidon's connexion with Corinth, and argues that what is recorded of this connexion does not square with 668 B.C. This is true, but only on the assumption that 734 is the date of Archias.

of the Corinthian aristocracy took an interest in Corcyra, which was then disputing the naval supremacy of her mother city (664?).

This effect of Sicilian colonisation on the origin of the Olympian ἀγών is of course a theory which does not admit of proof by documentary evidence. But a curious legend has survived which may be invoked in support of this theory. Just as the story that Heracles founded the Olympian Games really supports the view that Phidon was the true founder, so the strange fable of Alpheus travelling under the sea to Ortygia points to an early historical link between Olympia and Syracuse, and even suggests some more definite connexion than a political design in the brain of Phidon. It suggests at least that Sicilians were formally invited by the founder to take part in the first celebrations of the Olympian panegyris. But we cannot draw any conclusions as to early relations between Syracuse and Olympia (or Arcadia) from that obscure passage in Pindar's Sixth Olympian Ode, where Agesias is called a συνοικιστήρ of the Sicilian city:

βωμῷ τε μαντείῳ ταμίας Διὸς ἐν Πίσῃ
 συνοικιστήρ τε τῶν κλεινῶν Συρακοσσᾶν.

Before we take leave of Phidon there is another question which must be briefly touched on. There is a passage in Strabo which seems to show that the Olympian was not the only *agon* founded by him. Strabo professes to speak on the authority of Ephorus:

πρὸς τούτοις (Φείδωνα) ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ ταῖς ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους αἰρεθείσαις πόλεσι καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀξιούν τιθέναι αὐτὸν οὗς ἐκείνος ἔθηκε· τούτων δὲ εἶναι τὸν Ὀλυμπιακόν¹.

Here the Olympian is mentioned as only one of certain *agones*, which Phidon, as the successor of Heracles, administered (ἔθηκε). The only other *agon* in the Peloponnesus which had any associations with Heracles was the Nemean. The Nemea were said to have been founded by Adrastus, and afterwards celebrated by Heracles. Hence we might venture to conjecture that Phidon founded the *agon* which was conducted by the Cleonaeans, as well as that which was conducted by the Pisatans. When Cleonae fell under the power of Sicyon, Clisthenes would not have failed to suppress a festival which was associated with Adrastus and owed its origin to Argos. In this case the year 573 would mark, not the first foundation of the Nemean Games, but their renewal after a temporary disuse.

If the conclusion, which I have endeavoured to establish, is well founded, a new feature emerges in the history of the Greek *tyrannis*.

¹ Bk. viii. 358.

(1) Phidon, the founder of the *tyrannis*, is also the founder of the earliest Panhellenic games, the Olympia. (2) Periander 'der Systematiker der Tyrannis' institutes the Isthmia. (3) Clisthenes, the despot of Sicyon, initiates or promotes the institution of the Pythia by the Delphic amphictyony. (4) The Nemea, whether originally founded by Phidon or not, owed their first historical importance to an unknown ruler of Argos, who plays the same part in relation to Cleonae that Phidon had played in relation to Pisa. (5) Pisistratus, the last of the great tyrants of Greece's early period, institutes the quadriennial Panathenaea, clearly in imitation of the Olympia and Pythia.

Thus the history of the origin of the great Games has more than a merely external bearing on Pindar and his Epinician Odes. The poet of this Panhellenic institution was filled with the spirit of Panhellenism (or should we say Panhellenedom, and reserve Panhellenism for the coming of Alexander?), and he was a friend and admirer of the potentates who preserved the traditions of the *tyrannis*, no longer indeed in old Greece, but in Sicily and Cyrene. In the anecdote that Alexander the Great spared the house of Pindar from the destruction which befel Thebes, we may see a deeper meaning than admiration for the memory of a great poet. For when we take a wide view of Greek history, we must recognise that Alexander of Macedon was the true successor of Phidon, Periander, Pisistratus and Pericles. Pericles, who, though not a tyrant, really carried on the policy of the Pisistratids, made Athens the school of Hellas; the work of Alexander was to make Hellas the school of the world. In Pindar the Macedonian conqueror might well have recognised a *προφήτης* of Hellenedom in a really wide sense,—one who looked beyond the needs and interests of a single city, and who, while he glorified the Dorian hero, Heracles¹, was far from sharing that Dorian spirit of exclusiveness which animated Sparta. We might say that Pindar exalted Heracles from a Dorian to an Hellenic ideal.

¹ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Euripides' *Herakles*, I. 265) writes: 'Pindaros ist dem Herzen und dem Glauben nach ein Boeoter gewesen; aber der Abkunft nach

hat er es wenigstens nicht sein wollen, und da sein Name ausser auf Thera auch in Ephesos widerkehrt, so war sein Blut wol wirklich Kadmeisches.'

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A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius

to Irene, A.D. 395—800. BY JOHN B. BURY, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Dublin. 2 vols. 8vo. 32s.

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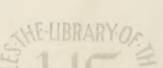
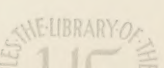
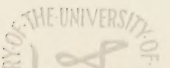
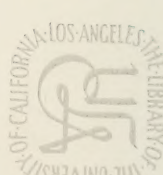
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